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THE LOST PROVINCE OF QUIVIRA

Nebraska is located between the fortieth and forty-third parallels of latitude and the ninety-fifth and one-hundred-and-fourth meridians of west longitude, or between South Dakota and Kansas; and between the Missouri River and the eastern boundaries of Colorado and Wyoming. Whilst comparatively young among the States of the Union, its history reaches back to the days of Spanish conquest (1541), to a period within fifty years after the discovery of the New World by that sterling Catholic, Christopher Columbus. The name *Nebraska*, to designate this region, was used in the United States Congress as early as 1844 by the Hon. Stephen A. Douglass, of Illinois, in his Bill "to establish the Territory of Nebraska." It was organized as a Territory on May 30, 1854, and as a State on March 1, 1867.[1] The name itself is derived from the incorrect pronunciation of the Omaha Indian word *Nibthaska* (*ni*-water and *bthaska*-flat or shallow), which means *The Flat* or *Shallow* Water, by which name the Omahas called the Platte River.[2] Who the original and first inhabitants of this region were, is still a mystery; but as far as we know now, the Skidi and Arikara nations, as early as the year 1400, were the first Indian tribes to dwell along the Platte and Loup Rivers and along the Missouri River in the northeast section of the State.[3] It is also certain that the Kansas nation of northeast Kansas, whose territory extended from the Kansas River into southeastern Nebraska, as far north as the Big Nemaha River, migrated to this region from the mouth of the Osage River

[1] MORTON, *History of Nebraska*, Vol. i, p. 135; JOHNSON, *History of Nebraska*, pp. 41–48.

[2] *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association* (Vol. vi, p. 327).

[3] MORTON, *o. c.*, pp. 1–33. *Magazine of American History*, Vol. v, p. 321; *Twenty-seventh Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, pp. 74–75.

previous to the year 1541.[4] They are mentioned as early as 1601 by the Spanish explorer Oñate.[5] It appears that they were the third known tribe of Indians in the Nebraska region. The fourth tribe or nation to enter Nebraska were the Pawnees. They came in three divisions, namely, the *Kit-ke-ha-ki* or Republican Pawnees, the *Chaui* or Grand Pawnees, and the *Pita-hau-erat* or Tapage (*noisy*) Pawnees; and as Dunbar says, they arrived sometime between the years 1620 and 1650,[6] and dwelt along the Platte and Loup Valleys, where they formed a confederacy with the Skidi nation until 1876, when all were removed to the Indian Territory.

The next nation to occupy lands in Nebraska were the Otoes, who migrated from the headwaters of the Des Moines River to the Missouri River about the year 1700, and are shown on DeLisle's Map of 1718 as dwelling on the west side of it near the mouth of the Platte.[7] They now reside in Indian Territory. After these came the Omahas, Iowas and Poncas. The exact date of their arrival in Nebraska is not yet known, but it seems to have occurred some time between the years 1760 and 1777, for we are certain that the Omahas were here in the latter year.[8] The Iowas did not remain for any great period of time, and the Poncas, who had separated from the Omahas, at the mouth of White River in South Dakota, after wandering toward the Black Hills, returned and finally settled near the mouth of the Niobrara River, where they were discovered by the St. Louis trader, Jean Munier, in 1789.[9] A part of this latter tribe as well as the Omahas still reside in Nebraska. In 1778 a remnant of the Missouri nation united here with the Otoes, until the removal of both tribes to the Indian Territory.[10] In 1795 the Padoucahs, or Comanche nation, lived in western Nebraska on the north fork of the Platte

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[4] *Eighteenth Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 708, Map No. 41; MORTON, *o. c.*, Vol. i, p. 41 (map).

[5] *Handbook of American Indians*, Vol. i, p. 653.

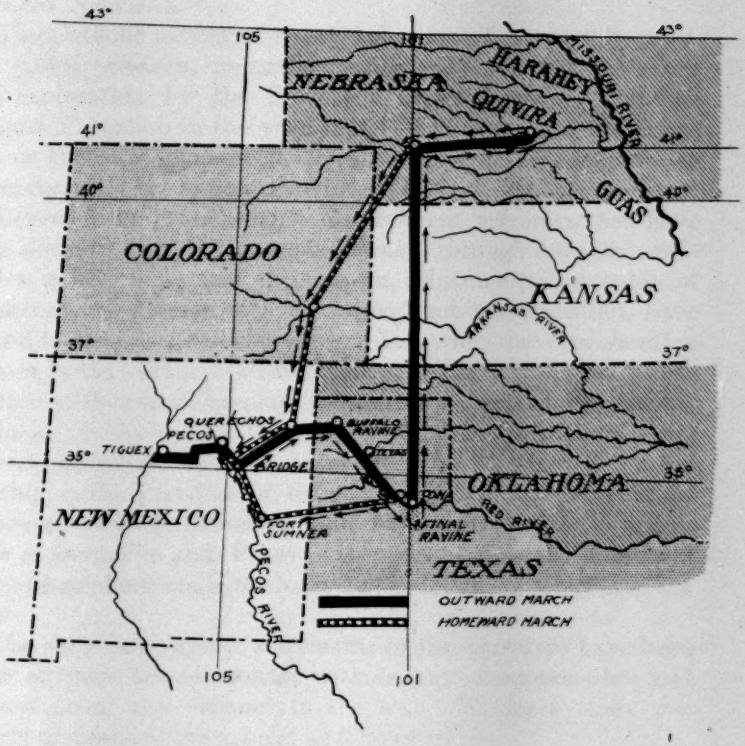
[6] *Handbook of American Indians*, Vol. ii, p. 214; *Kansas Historical Collections*, Vol. x, p. 69, *note*.

[7] *Louisiana Hist. Coll.*, Vol. i, p. 71; *Margry Papers*, Vol. vi, p. 78; *South Dakota Hist. Coll.*, Vol. ii, pp. 44–50.

[8] *Wisconsin Hist. Coll.*, Vol. xviii, pp. 360–362.

[9] *Twenty-seventh Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, pp. 49, 79, 85; *Missouri Hist. Soc. Coll.* (St. Louis), Vol. iv, p. 9.

[10] *Nebraska Hist. Coll.*, Vol. xv, p. 8.


43°
105
101
43°
NEBRASKA
HARAHEY
QUIVIRA
MISSOURI RIVER
41°
41°
40°
40°
GUAS
COLORADO
KANSAS
ARKANSAS RIVER
37°
37°
QUEREHOS
PECOS
BUFFALO RAVINE
35°
TIGUEX
CANADIAN
ARROYO
OKLAHOMA
35°
NEW MEXICO
RED RIVER
FORT SUMNER
ATFINAL RAVINE
TEXAS
PECOS RIVER
OUTWARD MARCH
HOMEWARD MARCH
105
101

River, but some years later they moved on towards the South.[11] The Arapahoes, Kiowas, Cheyennes, Sioux and Winnebagoes arrived during the last century, and all again withdrew during its latter half, except the Winnebagoes, who have a small reservation near the Omahas in northeastern Nebraska.[12] The Sac and Fox Reservation extends into southeastern Nebraska and the Santee and Oglalla Sioux occupy small strips of territory in northern Nebraska.[13]

The Catholic history of Nebraska, or—as it can now be properly called—*Quivira*, naturally begins with its first discovery and exploration by the Spaniards under General Francisco Vasquez Coronado in the year 1541. Heretofore the ancient as well as the most modern geographers have never been able to locate correctly the famous Province of *Quivira*, which was visited by Coronado in 1541, because the different accounts that have come down to us of that famous journey, through apparent difficulties in the texts and through an arbitrary presumption of an astronomical error with consequent misinterpretation, have proved to be a puzzle to historians. Yet, when due consideration is given to the various statements of these different accounts, the solution of the puzzle becomes simple and natural and is, indeed, found in the documents themselves. The translations of these various chronicles, with the notes given by Mr. George Parker Winship, in the Part One of the *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (1892–93), together with the acceptance of Bernalillo and Pecos as the ancient sites of Tiguex and Cicuye, have been made the basis for the following solution of the riddle.

The plain and explicit statements of the narrators have been taken at their historic worth, without any circumlocution and without doing any violence to the text. We have made two general divisions of the subject as follows:[14]

I. The Outward March and Return of the Army.

II. The Journey of Coronado to Quivira and Return.

[11] *Missouri Hist. Soc. Coll.* (St. Louis), Vol. iv, p. 31.

[12] Morton, *o. c.*, Vol. i, pp. 38, 39.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

[14] In the subdivisions of each part the necessary portion of the text is given, followed by our deductions or conclusions, together with the line of march, and the points arrived at. The three figures found after a statement refer to the page in the *Fourteenth Report* of the *Bureau of American Ethnology* (1892–93).

I. THE OUTWARD MARCH AND RETURN OF THE ARMY

1. From Tiguex to the Bridge

CORONADO.—"I started from this province (Tiguex) on the twenty-third of April last." (1541) . . . (580.)

"After nine days march, I reached some plains" . . . (580.)

CASTANEDA.—"The army left Tiguex on the fifth of May and returned to Cicuye, which as I have said, is twenty-five marches, which means leagues, from there." . . . (503.)

"Five days from here (Tiguex) he (Alvarado) came to Cicuye." . . . (491.)

"The army started from Cicuye. . . . Proceeding toward the plains, which are all on the other side of the mountains after four days journey they came to a river with a large deep current which flowed down toward Cicuye, and they named this the Cicuye (Pecos) River . . . (504.) They had to stop here to make a bridge. . . . It was finished in four days." . . . (504.)

Relacion Del Suceso.—"They do not raise cotton, nor keep fowls (at Cicuye, or Pecos), because it is 15 leagues away from the river to the east toward the plains where the cows are." . . . (575.) Alvarado . . . proceeded forward (from Cicuye) to these plains and at the borders of these he found a little river which flows to the southwest" . . . (576.)

JARAMILLO.—"Leaving this settlement (Tiguex) . . . we . . . in four days came to Cicuique. From there we came to another river, which the Spaniards named after Cicuique, in three days: if I remember rightly, it seems to me, that we went rather toward the northeast to reach this river where we crossed it." (587.)

POSTRERA.—"Four days from this village (Cicuic) they came to a country as level as the sea, and in these plains . . . cows, that . . . are numberless" . . . (570.)

From the above statements we are justified in drawing the following conclusions: that Coronado's date, April 23, 1541 (580.), for the departure of the army from Tiguex (Bernalillo) is undoubtedly the correct one, as he wrote shortly after the events happened; and that the date given by Castaneda, who wrote at least twenty years later (470.), is evidently a mistake. Castaneda gives the year as 1542 instead of 1541. That it was approximately twenty-five leagues (65 miles) from Tiguex to Pecos, or Cicuye (491–503.), and four days' march (504.), or fifteen leagues (575.) to the other side of the mountains, to the river called Cicuye, which flowed southwest; and since Castaneda erroneously thought the Spaniards went northeast from Cicuique (587.), he naturally stated that it flowed down toward Cicuique. This Cicuique or Pecos River is a branch of the real Pecos River and

is now known as the Gallinas River; where the army crossed it, is not far from its junction with the real Pecos River, or about forty miles southeast from the village of Pecos.[15] Jaramillo's statement of four days from Tiguex and three days from Pecos to the river are evidently mistakes. The distance from Tiguex *via* Pecos to the river, where the Bridge was built, is therefore approximately forty leagues, or about one hundred and five miles. This journey occupied nine days, and consequently they arrived there on Monday, May 2, 1541, as Coronado relates. The average day's march was small on account of the rough country, and the direction taken from Pecos was southeast. The Bridge, or Crossing, was approximately about twenty-four miles north of the thirty-fifth parallel and about two miles east of the one hundred and fifth meridian.

2. From the Bridge to the Querechos

CORONADO.—"After seventeen days march I came to a settlement of Indians who are called Querechos." . . . (580.)

CASTANEDA.—"The Bridge was finished in four days . . . and as soon as it was done, the whole army and the animals crossed. After ten days more, they came to some settlements, of people, . . . called Querechos in that region. . . . They had seen the cows for two days . . . (504.) It is 30 leagues from Cicuye to where the plains begin (526). It was more than 40 leagues from where we began to see the bulls to the place where we began to see cows" . . . (548.)

Relacion Del Suceso.—"So he (Coronado) started with the whole army and proceeded 150 leagues, 100 to the east and 50 to the south (note says southeast) . . . (577.)

JARAMILLO.—"After crossing this (river) we turned more to the left hand, which would be more to the northeast, and began to enter the plains, where the cows are, although we did not find them for some four or five days, after which we began to come across bulls . . . and after going on in the same direction and meeting the bulls for two or three days we began to find . . . cows, yearlings and bulls altogether. We found Indians among these first cows, who were . . . called Querechos. . . . We went on for eight or ten days in the same direction along the streams which are among the cows." (587, 588.)

It was nine marching days (forty leagues) from Tiguex to the Bridge. It is evident, therefore, that Coronado's seventeenth

[15] BANDELIER, *Historical Introduction* (Arch. Inst. of America), American Series, Vol. I, p. 21; *Lieut. Whipple's Route, Reports and Railroad Surveys*, 1853-4, Vol. iii, Geological Map.

marching day was the eighth day after leaving the Bridge when he arrived at the first Querechos settlement. When we compare Castaneda's statement with that of Jaramillo's, we find that both of them practically agree with Coronado as to the eighth day, for while Castaneda says it was on the tenth day they came to the Querechos settlements, he evidently means the end of them, as he says they saw them for two days, and he also says that they saw the cows for two days before this. If we take Jaramillo's fifth day for meeting the bulls and his three days later for meeting the cows, we again have the eighth day; and he explicitly says that they met the Querechos with the first cows. Consequently, they all agree on the time and place of meeting the first Querecho settlement. Jaramillo makes the bulls and cows distant from each other only three days or fifteen leagues, while Castaneda says they were more than forty leagues apart. This is evidently an error, since the army was only forty leagues from the Bridge when they first saw the cows and Querechos. Coronado makes the plains begin at the Bridge (580.), while Castaneda says they begin thirty leagues from Cicuye or fifteen leagues beyond the Bridge; and Jaramillo says "after crossing the river . . . we . . . began to enter the plains" (587–588.). Here are two witnesses against one, so we must conclude that Castaneda is again in error.

Coronado had now marched from the Bridge for eight days or forty leagues when he came to the first Querechos settlement, Saturday, May 14, 1541. This was eighty leagues from Tiguex. This point of his journey is northeast of the Bridge and about twenty-one miles directly west from a point on the eastern boundary line of New Mexico, about thirty miles below the northern boundary of Texas.

3. From the Querechos to the Buffalo Ravine

CORONADO.—"I traveled five days more as the guides wished to lead me, until I reached some plains" . . . (581.)

CASTANEDA.—"For two days during which the army marched in the same direction as that in which they had come from the settlements, that is between north and east, but more toward the north, they saw other Querechos and . . . great numbers of cows. . . . Here Don Garcia broke his arm, and a Spaniard got lost. . . . The Turk said it was two days to Haya (Haxa). The general sent Capt. Diego Lopez with ten companions lightly equipped . . . to go at full speed toward the sunrise for two days to discover Haxa, and then return to meet the army

which set out in the same direction next day (505.). They (the army) came across so many animals . . . the advance guard killed a large number. . . . As these fled they trampled one another in their haste until they came to a ravine. So many of the animals fell into this that they filled it up, and the rest went across on top of them. The men on horseback fell in among the animals without noticing where they were going. . . . It seemed to the general that Diego Lopez ought to be on his way back, he sent six of his companions to follow up the banks of the little river, and as many more down the banks to look for traces of the horses (of the Lopez scouts), at the trails to and from the river. They were found by some Indians. . . . They got track of them a good league off. . . . They followed the river down to the camp, and . . . in the 20 leagues they had been over they had seen nothing but cows and the sky. (505.)

Relacion Del Suceso.—"He . . . proceeded 150 leagues, 100 to the east and 50 to the south." (577.)

MOTA PADILLA.—The note makes it five days to the first ravine seen. (504.)

Coronado had now marched for twenty-two days, or one hundred leagues, from Tiguex, or thirteen days or sixty leagues, from the Bridge, or five days or twenty leagues, beyond the first Querechos village. The day's march was only four leagues during these five days, probably on account of doubts and suspicions in regard to the guides' stories, and also to give the Lopez scouts time to return before the army had advanced far. The plains mentioned by Coronado do not exclude the fact that there were ravines in them, as we learn from Castaneda. The latter also implies that the ravine or little river ran from north to south, or almost at a right angle with his course going east, and with that of the Lopez scouts returning west, so he sent his searching parties up and down the river. As to Castaneda's statement that Don Garcia broke his arm here, for which a different time and place is given in the *Relacion Del Suceso* (577.), we must conclude that one or the other narrator is mistaken in respect to the time and place. It is well to remark here that the course of the journey had turned from the northeast to east at the end of the Querechos settlements, or ten days' march from the Bridge. It again changes three days later at the one-hundredth league camp, or Buffalo Ravine, from east to southeast. The end of the Querechos villages and the point where the Lopez scouts were sent east will be on the one-hundred-and-third meridian, or on the eastern boundary line of New Mexico, about twenty-four miles below the northern boun-

dary line of Texas. From this point the army went east for three days or twelve leagues, or about thirty-one miles, to this small stream or ravine in Texas, which we have called the Buffalo Ravine.

4. From the Buffalo Ravine to the Second or Teyas Ravine

CORONADO.—"And while we were lost in these plains, some horsemen, who went off to hunt cows, fell in with some Indians . . . who are called Teyas." (581.)

CASTANEDA.—"The general sent Don Rodrigo Maldonado . . . forward from here he traveled for four days and reached a large ravine . . . in the bottom of which he found a large settlement. . . . He sent some of his companions to guide the army to that place, so that they should not get lost" . . . (505.)

While . . . resting in this ravine . . . a tempest came up one afternoon, with a very high wind and hail, and . . . a great quantity of hailstones, as big as bowls or bigger, fell as thick as raindrops." . . . (506.)

JARAMILLO.—"We went for eight or ten days in the same direction along those streams which are among the cows." . . . (588.)

MOTA PADILLA.—Note gives Ascension Day, 1541, as the date of the hailstorm . . . (506.)

The Indians called Teyas by Coronado are evidently the same ones found by Maldonado, after a four days' march, in the second ravine. Jaramillo's statement implies that they followed the direction of the little river for a day or two at least; that is, they were going toward the south or southeast. Castaneda shows that the army also reached this ravine, and that there they experienced a severe hailstorm, which (according to Mota Padilla) occurred on Ascension Day, or Thursday, May 26, 1541.[16] While it is possible that there were two hailstorms, the one Castaneda refers to certainly took place in a ravine; and if it occurred in this second ravine, then it happened on Monday, May 23, 1541, and Mota Padilla's date is wrong. If it really occurred on Ascension Day, then it took place in some ravine among the settlements of Cona, along the Olcot Fork of the Red River, and Castaneda errs as to its time and place. The army had now reached the Teyas Ravine on the Canadian River on Monday, May 23, 1541, and it was thirty days distant, or twenty-six days' march from Tiguex, or seventeen days' march from the Bridge. The total distance from Tiguex was about one hundred and twenty-four

[16] REV. WM. F. RIGGE, S.J., *Dates of Easter for 2,000 years*. Omaha, 1898.

leagues, or three hundred and twenty-six miles. They had gone twenty-four leagues or about sixty-three miles southeast from the one-hundredth league camp in the Buffalo Ravine. This last camp was on the Canadian River near the center of Potter County, Texas.

5. From the Texas Ravine to the Third or Final Ravine

CORONADO.—"I obtained from these (Teyas) an account of the country, where the guides were taking me, which was not like what they had told me. . . . Here the guides confessed to me, that they had not told the truth . . . and because they (Teyas) made it out more than forty days' journey from where I fell in with the Teyas, to the country where the guides were taking me . . . It seemed best to me . . . to go forward (*i. e.*, north) with only thirty horsemen." . . . (581.)

CASTANEDA.—"From here, the general sent out to explore the country, and they found another settlement four days from there. . . . These village settlements extended for three days. This was called Cona. Some Teyas, as these people are called, went with the army from here and traveled as far as the end of the other settlements . . . and then they gave them guides to proceed to a large ravine where the army was. . . . They . . . did not receive the same statements from these as they had from the others. These said that Quivira was toward the north, and that we would not find any good road thither. . . . The ravine which the army had now reached was a league wide from one side to the other, with a little bit of a river at the bottom. . . . The army rested several days in this ravine and explored the country. Up to this point they had made thirty-seven days marches, traveling six or seven leagues a day. . . . They found it was two hundeed and fifty leagues to the settlements. When the general . . . realized this and saw that they had been deceived by the Turk, heretofore . . . he called the captains and ensigns together to decide on what they thought ought to be done. They all agreed that the general should go in search of Quivira with thirty horsemen . . . and that Don Tristan de Arellano should go back to Tiguex, with all the army. (507–508.) In traversing two hundred and fifty leagues the other mountain range was not seen, nor a hill nor a hillock which was three times as high as a man . . ." (527.)

JARAMILLO.—"From this settlement of Querechos he led us off more to the east . . . I believe we had been traveling twenty days or more in this direction, at the end of which we found another settlement of Indians. . . . At this settlement the general, seeing our difficulties, ordered the captains and the persons whose advice he was accustomed to follow, to assemble so that we might discuss with him what was best for all. We all went forward one day, to a stream which was down in a ravine in the midst of good meadows to agree on who should go ahead and how the rest should return." (588–589.)

Relacion Del Suceso.—"He . . . proceeded one hundred and fifty leagues, one hundred to the east, and fifty to the south . . . and one confessed that what the Indian said was a lie, except that there was a province which was called Quivira . . ." (577.)

The army moved on in a southeasterly direction for four more days or twenty-four leagues, to the end of the Teyas settlement of Cona, along or through which they had passed for three days, probably camping on the same creek or ravine where these settlements were, or Olcot Fork of the Red River. Here Coronado was convinced that *Quivira* was more than forty days' journey to the north, or opposite to the direction in which he was going. After holding a council here, they went forward one day's march to the Final Ravine on the Red River, in Texas. Jaramillo's twenty days or more in this direction evidently means the direction out from the Bridge; for they had, in fact, marched just twenty-one days from the Bridge to the end of the Teyas settlement of Cona, where the captains were ordered to assemble for a council. Jaramillo alone mentions the march of one day, or the remaining two leagues or five miles, to the stream which was down in a ravine where the real division of the army took place. The army arrived in this ravine on Saturday, May 28, 1541. This was exactly twenty-two marching days from the Bridge. When we add the nine marching days from Tiguex to the Bridge, we have a total of thirty-one marching days for the one hundred and fifty leagues. The four days spent at the Bridge would bring the total time consumed on this outward journey up to thirty-five days; this exactly corresponds with Coronado's statement (581-582). Castaneda's thirty-seven days undoubtedly means up to the time Coronado left them for *Quivira* (May 31, 1541). The two days were, perhaps, used in making preparations for that journey. His two hundred and fifty leagues to the settlements is either a slip of his pen or the mistake of a copyist, or he evidently includes the whole distance out and back to the Bridge, as he does when he says: "In traversing two hundred and fifty leagues the other mountain chain was not seen (527.)." Otherwise it is an error, for we have shown that there were only thirty-one marching days and even these at seven leagues a day would make only two hundred and seventeen leagues. His six or seven leagues a day, therefore, must necessarily refer to the homeward march of the army. This final ravine

or camp was distant, by the way they came, just one hundred and fifty leagues, or about three hundred and ninety-five miles from Tiguex, and was located in Texas on the Red River at the point where the one-hundred-and-first meridian crosses it. It must be understood, of course, that we cannot claim these routes and camps to be the exact and identical spots Coronado traversed; they are simply approximations, and the exact route may be a few miles on either side of it.

6. The Army's Homeward March

CASTANEDA.—"They all agreed . . . that Don Tristan de Arellano should go back to Tiguex with all the army. When the men in the army learned of this decision, they begged their general not to leave them . . . but declared that they all wanted to die with him and did not want to go back. This did not do any good although the general agreed to send messengers to them within eight days, saying whether it was best for them to follow him or not. (508.) The guides ran away during the first few days and Diego Lopez had to return to the army for guides, bringing orders for the army to return to Tiguex to find food and wait there for the general. The army still had some hope that the general would send for them, and sent two horsemen, lightly equipped and riding post, to repeat their petition. . . . The army waited for its messengers and spent a fortnight here, preparing jerked beef to take with them. . . . The messengers whom the army had sent to the general returned . . . and as they brought no news except what the alderman had delivered, the army left the ravine and returned to the Teyas . . . who led them back by a more direct road. (509.) In this way they covered in twenty-five days, what had taken them thirty-seven days going, besides stopping to hunt cows on the way. (510.) On its return the army reached the Cicuye River more than thirty leagues below there, I mean below the bridge they had made when they crossed it, and they followed it up to that place . . . (510.) As I said the army followed the river up as far as Cicuye. . . . From there they went on to Tiguex . . . (510.) Don Tristan de Arellano reached Tiguex about the middle of July, in the year (15) '42" . . . (510.)

Relacion Del Suceso.—"Don T. de Arellano returned to the river with the army. On this journey they had a very hard time, because almost all of them had nothing to eat except meat, and many suffered on this account." (577.)

The army was to wait for one week at the final ravine after Coronado left, for his decision about following him. The guides, however, it seems, deserted Coronado on his third day out (June 2), at the end of eighteen leagues. His messenger, Diego

Lopez, returned with the decision and for new guides on June 4. Then the two special messengers of the army started out with him the next day and overtook Coronado on June 9, when he had reached his sixtieth league. The special messengers made this same distance in five days at twelve leagues a day. They returned, however, at six leagues a day, in ten days reaching the army again on June 19, thus accounting for the two weeks the army waited for them. On June 20, the homeward march of twenty-five days began. This would make their arrival at Tiguex occur on July 14, which practically agrees with the date of Castaneda (510). The army went back two leagues to the Teyas at Cona, then marched in a southwesterly direction below the Red River for sixty-eight leagues to about Old Fort Sumner on the Pecos River, and then about thirty-two leagues up to the Bridge. The return trip to the Bridge was about one hundred and two leagues, and to Tiguex about one hundred and forty-two, or about eight leagues less than the outward one.

II. JOURNEY TO QUIVIRA AND RETURN

A. From the Red River to Quivira

CORONADO.—"With only thirty horsemen . . . I traveled forty-two days, after I left the force . . . (581.)

After having journeyed across these deserts seventy-seven days I arrived at the province they call Quivira, to which the guides were conducting me . . . (582.) The province of Quivira is nine hundred and fifty leagues from Mexico. Where I reached it, it is in the fortieth degree" (582.)

CASTANEDA.—"The general . . . reached Quivira, which took forty-eight days' marching on account of the great detour they had made toward Florida . . . (509.) Quivira is to the west of those ravines in the midst of the country, somewhat nearer the mountains towards the sea, for the country is level as far as Quivira, and there they began to see some mountain chains." (528.)

Relacion Del Suceso.—(Coronado), "set out across these plains in search of Quivira . . . and after proceeding many days by the needle (*i. e.*, to the north) it pleased God that after thirty days' march we found the river Quivira which is 30 leagues below the settlement." (577.) In going by the way we went, we traveled 330 leagues, and it is not more than 200 by that by which we returned. Quivira is in the fortieth degree and the river (Tiguex) in the thirty-sixth . . . " (578.)

JARAMILLO.—"We pursued our way, the direction all the time after this being toward the north, for more than thirty days' march, although not long marches, not having to go without water on any one of them, and among

> cows all the time . . . so that on St. Peter and Paul's day (June 29) we reached a river which we found to be there below Quivira. When we reached the said river the Indian recognized it and said that was it, and that it was below the settlements . . . " (590.)

The author of the *Suceso* says that *Quivira* was three hundred and thirty leagues from Tiguex, in going the way we went. Now, since they went one hunded and fifty leagues to the Red River, this would leave one hundred and eighty leagues as the distance traveled north by the needle. To cover this distance at six leagues a day would require just thirty days, which coincides exactly with the time given both by Jaramillo and the *Suceso*. These one hundred and eighty leagues would make about four hundred and seventy-three miles, and if we go straight north on the one-hundred-and-first meridian from the Red River in Texas to the Platte River in Nebraska, we find the distance to be about four hundred and sixty miles, or one hundred and seventy-five leagues. This would leave five leagues or thirteen miles as a margin in the whole distance for deviations and detours in the route, for water, and for delays at the many ravines and gullies. In regard to the latitude of forty degrees given both by Coronado and the author of the *Suceso*, they certainly knew what they were speaking about, as they evidently took precautions to avoid making any mistake.

If an astronomical observation was made in *Quivira*, it is not recorded; and it is more probable that the calculation was made by dividing the total number of leagues traveled north (180) by the number of leagues in a degree of latitude (about 26), which gave them over six degrees. Now, they knew that they had gone over thirty leagues or a part of two degrees below the latitude of the river (36), or Tiguex, which would consequently take them into the thirty-fourth degree, and thus adding the six degrees to this would make them very sure of having arrived in the fortieth degree. Therefore, since the correct latitude of Tiguex or Bernalillo is in the thirty-fifth degree, we know now with certainty that Coronado in reality arrived in Nebraska, and that it was in the forty-first degree that he found *Quivira*. His estimated distance from Mexico is, of course, in accordance with the route he traveled himself. Castaneda's forty-eight days is probably based upon the time of the return trip; that is, forty days from

Quivira to the Bridge and eight days from there to Tiguex; otherwise it is an error. Castaneda's remarks about the ravines in the midst of the country refer to the great valleys of the Mississippi and the Missouri Rivers; his location of *Quivira*, therefore, is correct. His mountain chains are those parts of the Rocky Mountain chain they saw on their return trip. As thirty days of Coronado's forty-two were employed in reaching the Platte River, the remaining twelve were used in reaching the end of *Quivira*.

B. The Province of Quivira

CORONADO.—"There are not more than twenty-five villages of straw houses there. I remained twenty-five days in this province of Quivira so as to see and explore the country and also to find out whether there was anything beyond . . . " (582–583.)

CASTANEDA.—"There are other thickly settled provinces around it containing large numbers of men. They killed the friar because he wanted to go to the province of the Guas, who were their enemies. The great river of the Holy Spirit (Espiritu Santo) . . . flows through this country. It passes through a province called Arache. . . . The sources were not visited, because . . . it comes from a very distant country in the mountains of the South sea . . . " (529.)

Relacion Del Suceso.—"These (houses) are of straw . . . in some villages there are as many as 200 houses; they have corn, and beans and melons . . . (577.) (Coronado) went 25 leagues through these settlements to where he obtained an account of what was beyond, and they said that the plains came to an end, and down the river there are people who do not plant, but live wholly by hunting. (577.) They also gave an account of two other large villages . . . with straw houses at Tareque, and at Arae, some of straw and some of skins." (577).

JARAMILLO.—"We crossed it (the river) there, and went up the other side on the north, the direction turning toward the northeast, and after . . . three days we found some Indians . . . going hunting . . . their village was about three or four days still farther away from us . . . we proceeded . . . until we reached the settlements, which we found along good river bottoms, although without much water, and good streams which flow into another larger than the one I have mentioned. There were if I recall correctly six or seven settlements at quite a distance from one another, among which we traveled four or five days, since it was understood to be uninhabited between one stream and another. We reached . . . the end of Quivira. . . . Here there was a river with more water and more inhabitants than the others . . . beyond was Harahey . . . the same sort of a place . . . " (590.)

The twelve days, or seventy-two leagues, required to go to the end of the *Quivira* settlement would mean about one hundred and

ninety miles. This distance would bring them to the junction of Beaver Creek with the Loup or Wolf River near the boundary line of Platte and Nance Counties. This locality was a part of the last Pawnee Reservation in Nebraska. They found the first village thirty leagues beyond the crossing, in the vicinity of Georgetown, Custer County, on the South Fork of the Loup River. Proceeding from there in a northeasterly direction, they would cross all the large tributaries of the Loup River which were the favorite village sites of the Pawnee Confederacy. All the descriptions given of *Quivira* apply so perfectly to this region that it is not necessary to repeat them. The twenty-five leagues through these settlements means the distance north or northeast to the Elkhorn River, beyond which was indeed the real Province of Arache, Tareque or Harahey, which means nothing else than the Country of the Ariki-ra, or Horn people, so called because of their peculiar head dressing. To the southeast of *Quivira*, or down the river, were the Guas, or the Province of Arae (evidently a misprint for *Guas*), who are none other than the Kansas Indians, later on called Quans and Kaws by the French. The meaning of the word *Quivira* and its derivation now become plain and simple, for it is nothing else than the Spanish pronunciation of the name of this Indian nation, the Skidi-ra, or Wolf people. Coronado arrived here on July 11, 1541, the forty-second day from the Red River and the twelfth from the Platte crossing. He remained here until August 6, when the return trip began. It required twelve days to reach the crossing; they arrived there on August 17, 1541. On this return trip a cross was raised and an inscription, made with a chisel, was placed at the foot of it. I am inclined to believe that this inscription was cut on a stone that is located somewhere within a radius of fifty miles around St. Paul, Nebraska.

C. From Quivira to Tiguex

CASTANEDA.—"It took him forty days to return traveling lightly equipped." (512.)

Relacion Del Suceso.—"We went back by a more direct route . . . it is not more than 200 (leagues) by that which we returned." (578.)

JARAMILLO.—"We took five or six Indians from these villages to lead and guide us to the flat roof houses. They brought us back by the same road as as far as . . . a river called St. Peter and Paul's (the Platte), and here we left that (road) by which we had come, and taking the right hand

> (*i. e.*, toward the west) they led us along by watering places. . . . At last we came to . . . where I said we found the first settlement (of Querechos) where the Turk led us astray from the route we should have followed. . . . We reached Tiguex . . . (591–592.) If I remember rightly, it was after the middle of August, and because there was little to winter there for . . . it seemed to us all that his grace ought to go back." (590.)

Leaving the Platte River, near the one-hundred-and-first meridian, on Thursday, August 18, they went southwest to the junction of the Purgatoire and Arkansas Rivers in Colorado, a distance of two hundred and forty miles, or ninety-two leagues, from there, still going southwest to the first Querechos village, was about one hundred and thirty-two miles, or fifty leagues, and from there to the Bridge was forty leagues, a total of one hundred and eighty-two leagues. Adding the fifteen leagues to Pecos gives one hundred and ninety-seven leagues, the distance from *Quivira* to the flat roof houses, which agrees with the statement of the *Suceso*.

Thus we have solved the famous Quivira puzzle.

Having shown that Nebraska is the real land of *Quivira* and Harahey, we know now that the first footprints made there by white men were those of Spanish Catholics, under the leadership of Coronado, in July and August, 1541. These visitors were accompanied by a Franciscan priest, Father Juan de Padilla, who, according to the Catholic custom, erected a large cross, the emblem of Christianity and Salvation, in one of the villages. He most certainly celebrated Holy Mass, if not every day, at least on the seven Sundays that were spent there, besides the feasts of Saint James (July 25), the Patron of Spain, and that of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (August 15). Thus the first Christian services held in Nebraska were those of the Catholic Church. Father Padilla returned to *Quivira* with several companions in the spring of 1542, and began his missionary work there. While on his way later to visit the Guas, or Kansas Indians, he was murdered by some roaming Indians, and thus Nebraska's fertile plains were baptized with the life-blood of America's first Christian Martyr.

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CONCANEN'S ELECTION TO THE SEE OF NEW YORK (1808-10)[1]

Father Concanen's busy career in Rome had extended over a period of more than thirty years, when Bishop Carroll—encouraged to such a step by Propaganda—petitioned for the division of his vast Diocese, which then embraced all of the United States.[2] The pious and zealous Dominican was most favorably known among the ecclesiastical circles of the capital of Christendom. He had already rendered conspicuous services to the Church in the various countries whose affairs he administered at the Papal court. Concanen was greatly loved by the Seventh Pius. He was an ecclesiastic of much executive ability and profound learning and endowed with a prudence that had been matured by long experience. His humility alone had

[1] For the sources from which this sketch of Bishop Concanen is drawn, see note 1, THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. i (1916), pp. 400–401. Additional materials will be found as follows: I. **Sources** (Printed): *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, Vol. xviii (1907), pp. 291–93. II. **Works**: HUGHES, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America Colonial and Federal, Documents*, Vol. i, Part II, pp. 830–31, 978–79, 982, 991–92, 1148–53. Cleveland, 1910; *Melanges d' Histoire offerts à Charles Moeller à l'occasion de son Jubilé de 50 Années de Professorat à l' Université de Louvain*, pp. 526–555 (Louvain, 1914)—article: *Les Nominations Episcopales aux premiers temps de l'episcopat americain*, by F. J. ZWIERLEIN; SPALDING, *Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky*. Louisville, 1844. For the first part of this biographical sketch, see the January issue of this REVIEW, Vol. i (1915-16), pp. 400–422.

[2] A fairly clear idea of the gradual advance towards the formation of a hierarchy in the United States may be obtained from Carroll's letters to the Prefect of Propaganda, February 10, 1802 (*Propaganda Archives, America Centrale*, Vol. iii, fol. 135–137); November 27, 1802 (*ibid.*, fol. 146–47); February 14, 1804 (*ibid.*, fol. 162–63); November 22, 1806 (*ibid., Congregazioni Particolari*, Vol. cxlv, fol. 102–105); June 17, 1807 (*ibid., Congregazioni Particolari*, Vol. cxlv, fol. 106–108); and from the minutes of the session of Propaganda in 1814, in which there is given a recapitulation of previous acts of that Congregation in regard to the Church in the United States (*ibid, Atti* of 1814, fol. 183 ff.). Bishop Carroll, it would seem, desired at first at least the establishment of but one Diocese in addition to that of Baltimore; but Propaganda wished to have more, for it was felt that a number of new Sees would more effectually advance the cause of religion. Other documents containing the diplomatic negotiations and ecclesiastical proceedings which culminated in the appointment of Rev. John Carroll as our first Bishop, may be found in *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, Vol. xxi (1910), pp. 177–236, and in *American Historical Review*, July, 1910, pp. 801–829. The latter Review gives the documents in the original Latin, Italian and French, while the former gives us an English rendition of them.

prevented him from becoming a Bishop at an earlier date. He had shown a keen, affectionate interest in the progress of the Church in the United States. As was known at Rome, from a correspondence covering several years, a strong bond of friendship and mutual esteem had arisen between Concanen and Baltimore's venerable Ordinary, whom it was now proposed to raise to the rank of Archbishop. Doctor Carroll had assigned as the reason for not naming a clergyman for the See of New York the fact that there was no one in that city who was suited in his judgment for so important a post.[3] From the same source Propaganda was aware of the sad need of priests on our missions. The strained relations between the Holy See and Napoleon Bonaparte gave every reason to fear that Pius VII would suffer the lot of his predecessor—imprisonment and exile; and the Holy Father was anxious to fill all vacant bishoprics in the Church and to establish an organized hierarchy in the United States before such a calamity should overtake him. That these were the considerations which urged the appointment of the first Bishop of New York there can be no doubt, it seems to the writer, to anyone who has studied the problem from first-hand information in the documents themselves.

With no thought of the episcopal dignity for which he had a strong aversion, Father Concanen set to work on the commission entrusted to him by Doctor Carroll and sought to have his friend's plans for the American Church carried out in detail.

[3] Bishop Carroll to the Prefect of Propaganda, November 22, 1806, and June 17, 1807, as in preceding note; same to Rev. Richard L. Concanen, Rome, June 17, 1807. (*Archives of the Dominican Master General, Rome*, Codex XIII, 731.) In his letter of November 22, 1806, to the Prefect of Propaganda, Bishop Carroll writes: ". . . It seems to me that at least four new dioceses could be established in the United States with great fruit to souls. . . . The second can be placed at New York, which can take in all the very large state of that name and the eastern part of New Jersey which adjoins it. . . ." In the document of June 17, 1807, proposing the names of clergymen from whom selection of the bishops of the intended sees should be taken, he says: ". . . It seems necessary that in the beginning the bishop of Boston should exercise jurisdiction over the territory in which, in my previous letter, I included the diocese to-be of New York. For none of the priests residing in that territory appear to me suited for the episcopacy. I therefore refrain from recommending anyone for that responsible post. (Necessarium enim videtur, ut episcopus Bostoniensis initio jurisdictionem exerceat intra illos limites, quibus futuram dioecesim Neo-Eboracensem prioribus litteris comprehendi. Namque inter sacerdotes illic constitutos nullus mihi videtur satis episcopatui capessendo idoneus; itaque supersedeo cuidam ad tam grave ministerium commendando.)"

Perhaps, indeed, our friar's urgency was almost as potent a factor as the political aspect of Europe at that period in inducing Propaganda to meet in special session (March 4, 1808) to act on Carroll's petition that episcopal Sees should be erected at Boston, Philadelphia, Bardstown, and New York, and that over the first three, in the order named, Revs. John Cheverus, Michael Egan, O.S.F., and Benedict J. Flaget, S.S., should be placed as their respective Ordinaries.[4]

Doctor Carroll, as has been seen, proposed no one for the See of New York, for the reason that there was no suitable episcopal material in its territory. The Cardinals, therefore, began to cast about for some clergyman to be made the head of that bishopric. All eyes seem to have turned to Father Concanen, whose high character and zeal and whose amicable relations with the Bishop of Baltimore were known to all. Rome could choose no other clergyman, it was decided, who was better fitted to adorn that nascent and promising Diocese with his many virtues and attainments, or who would be more acceptable to our great proto-American prelate. All this is evident from the documents of the case. In the minutes of the Sacred Congregation, when discussing Carroll's promotion to the dignity of a metropolitan, the erection of the new American Sees, and the appointment of their Ordinaries, it can easily be seen that Concanen was Propaganda's first choice for the bishopric of New York which Rome did not wish to leave without a resident spiritual head. The important documents which follow show this very clearly. For the reasons assigned, Concanen was the choice not only of the Cardinals, but of Pius VII, who selected

[4] The minutes and notes of the special session of Propaganda held March 4, 1808, show both Father Concanen's activity in urging Bishop Carroll's proposals, and the various questions, persons, and plans then discussed in this connection. These affairs are scattered through (but often separated by other documents) Vol. cxlv of *Congregazioni Particolari* of the Propaganda Archives from about *folio* 79 to *folio* 198. The minutes proper run from *folio* 166 to *folio* 177. Shea (*Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll*, p. 664), tells us that Concanen's appointment to New York was chiefly due to Archbishop Troy. But nowhere in these lengthy minutes of Propaganda is the name of the great metropolitan of Dublin mentioned. Other documents mentioned in this article show that all communication between Ireland and Rome at this period had been interrupted by the enmity between France and England, and that Troy had no idea of his friend being appointed Bishop of any place. (See also on this point document referred to in *notes* 11, 12, and 13 of this article.)

him personally, and who in the Brief of his appointment (*Apostolatus Officium*) tells him that, on discussing the selection of an incumbent for the church of New York: "We immediately turned Our eyes upon you."[5] Although the Dominican's strong aversion to such a post of honor was well known, it was thought that, on account of his love for America and his friendship with Doctor Carroll, he "might be induced to accept that new episcopal See."[6]

The reason for the selection of Father Concanen as Bishop of New York could not be stated more clearly or positively than in the following letter from Propaganda to Carroll:

> "When, in 1808, the diocese of Baltimore was raised to the rank of a metropolitan see, and four new suffragan bishops were nominated and placed under its jurisdiction, the Sacred Congregation wrote, May 24, 1808, as follows to the newly created archbishop: 'How great the faith, and how implicit the confidence, the Holy Father, Pius VII, and this Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide repose in Your Grace's zeal and prudence, is shown by the late proceedings and recent decisions which the Apostolic Briefs accompanying this letter will clearly make known to you. For Your Grace will see that in accordance with your wish and petition four new episcopal sees have been erected in the United States, that you have been honored with metropolitan rights and dignity, and that the three ecclesiastics have been appointed bishops of the infant dioceses for which you recommended them so highly in your letter. But as Your Grace did not propose for New York any clergyman whom we could place over that diocese as its prelate, the Holy Father himself chose for this position a man whom long experience and the high esteem of all Rome prove to be most worthy of so exalted a dignity, and whom

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[5] Minutes and notes of Propaganda as in preceding *note;* letter of the Prefect of Propaganda, May 24, 1808, to Carroll (in *America centrale*, Vol. iii, fol. 306–307); and the Brief, *Apostolatus Officium* (*ibid*, fol. 270). The *Apostolatus Officium* reads: "Quumque de praeficiendo ejusmodi Sedi personam utilem ac fructuosam cum ven. fratribus Nostris S. Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalibus Congregationi de Propaganda Fide praepositis deliberationem habuerimus diligentem, statim ad Te, qui . . . et de cujus vitae munditia, morum honestate, prudentia, doctrina ac praesertim Catholicae Fidei zelo luculenta apud nos perhibentur testimonia, direximus oculos mentis Nostrae, teque propterea a quibusvis etc. censentes, eamdem Neo Eboraci Sedem Episcopalem de persona tua Nobis ac memoratis Cardinalibus ob tuorum exigentiam meritorum accepta, de ipsorum fratrum consilio, auctoritate Apostolica tenore praesentium providemus. . . ."

[6] *Congregazioni Particolari*, Vol. cxlv, fol. 192. The way in which Father Concanen is brought into the discussions of this special session of Propaganda leads one to believe that the unhappy state of Rome at this period had so afflicted him that the Cardinals thought he could be induced to accept an American Bishopric.

Your Grace has time and again shown to be very dear to yourself—Richard Luke Concanen, of the Order of Saint Dominic, and one of the theologians of the Casanate.' "[7]

Father Concanen was perhaps the only man in Rome surprised at his being appointed again to a bishopric. Again he strongly declined the proffered honor, and urged the nomination of his friend, Father John Connolly, whom he considered agreeable to the American hierarchy. But the good man's protests were of no avail, and he was obliged to bow to the will of the Holy See.

That his friend's appointment to the see of New York was gratifying to Doctor Carroll appears certain from Concanen's letter to him on August 9, 1809:

"After the series of trials and disappointments that I experienced ever since my unfortunate appointment to the See of New York, the greatest consolation I felt was that of receiving your Grace's inestimable letter of 20 January last. The pleasure and approbation you so kindly express at my promotion; the satisfaction shown on that occasion by our beloved Catholics of New York; and the pleasing account you give of the present state of that Church, are to me objects of the highest estimation.

"I have ever had a sensible predilection for the Americans, and a desire (which obedience only rendered ineffectual) of serving in that mission; but never indeed had I the ambition of appearing there in quality of a Bishop; especially in my advanced age and weakened by my late infirmities. Now that I am bound to undertake the arduous charge, you may imagine what concern and affliction it gives me to be sequestered here so long, spectator to tragic scenes, which cannot be unknown to you; and wasting the remnant of my life, which ought to be employed in the service of my beloved flock. . . .

"I shall execute to the utmost of my power all your commissions received, and to be received. All the literary works you described, and published in Italy within the last fifteen years, are written in Italian. There is amongst others, a capital work, written in Italian by a Spanish Jesuit, Père Andrez, on the origin, progress, and actual state of all literature, which you shall have. You will also have a copious supply of relicks. The Pontifical *Cappa* is a large robe, with a long train made of serge (purple) according to the Ceremoniale; or of silk, according to custom. Mine will serve as a pattern. The purple serge can be easily

[7] *America centrale*, Vol. iii, fol. 306–307. For the original Latin and Italian of this document see Documents, pp. 77-78. This letter, but little known in the United States, throws much new light on the appointment of Doctor Concanen to the See of New York. For Concanen's selection by Pius VII himself, see also *Congregazioni Particolari*, vol. 145, fol. 171.

had; and the ermine which covers the breast and shoulders, is cheaper there than in these parts. . . ."[8]

Obliged to accept the episcopal dignity for which he not only had no desire but rather a strong aversion, the Bishop-elect, although suffering from a severe illness, hastened to communicate what was to him the sad tidings of his appointment to New York, to Archbishops Carroll and Troy.[9] But, as there were no vessels sailing from Italian ports for America, he was obliged to send word of what had been done at Rome for the Church in the United States to the metropolitan of Baltimore through the metropolitan of Dublin.

"You must undoubtedly be astonished [he writes Doctor Troy, March 25, 1808], if you have received my letters of the eighth and thirtieth of January, to hear that instead of being now in my grave, as my most severe and long illness then threatened, I am appointed Bishop of New York, in North America. Doctor Carroll after many years' deliberation, and often encouraged by Propaganda, has at length parcelled out his vast continent into six Dioceses, for the present. These are Maryland, the metropolitan See of which he is to be Archbishop, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Kentucky, and Luigiana [Louisiana]. The worthy Doctor proposed three subjects for three of the new Bishopricks, who consequently have been chosen by the Sacred Congregation, Monsieur

[8] Concanen, Rome, to Carroll, Baltimore, August 9, 1809 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 2, T 1). The following words, also found in this document: "I shall be happy to see, at his house, young Mr. McHenry and his worthy family. They have my best wishes and compliments. I am sensible of their goodness, and when I come to the splendid function, to be performed at Baltimore, I shall profit of their hospitality," are but one of many similar passages in our friar's letters indicative of his benevolent character and affectionate appreciation of friends. This letter is published in full in *American Catholic Historical Researches*, Vol. xxiii (1906), pp. 170–173.

[9] Doctor Concanen was authorized on March 9, 1808, by the Father General to accept the bishopric of New York. This would indicate that he had then received the appointment. (*Archives of the Dominican General, Regesta Rmi P. Fr. Joseph Gaddi*, Codex IV, 260, p. 5.) The manuscript copy of the Brief of his appointment, *Apostolatus Officium*, in the *Propaganda Archives* (*America centrale*, Vol. 3, fol. 270), bears the date of September 8, 1808. But this is certainly an error, as is the same date given in some manuscript copies of the Briefs *Pontificii Muneris* erecting Baltimore into an Archbishopric, and the *Ex Debito Pastoralis Officii* establishing the four Sees of Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Bardstown. It is generally admitted and published in the various *bullaria* that the correct date of the last two documents is April 8, 1808; while it is expressly stated in the *Apostolatus Officium* that it was issued on the same day as these. The cause of this error and confusion was probably the state of turmoil that reigned in Rome at the time owing to the French occupation. For the Latin and the English translation of the *Apostolatus Officium* see Documents, pp. 74-76.

Cheverus, a Frenchman, for Boston, Father Egan, a Franciscan, for Philadelphia, and Monsieur Plaget [Flaget], another French Priest of St. Sulpice, for Kentucky. Unfortunately his Grace, Doctor Carroll, had nobody to propose for the Church of New York, and only recommended a Flemish Priest, Mr. Nering [Nerinckx], as temporary administrator of Luigiana [Louisiana]. The Sacred Congregation, now anxious to fill up all vacant Sees, unanimously elected myself, though I had strenuously recommended Father Connolly, for New York. And His Holiness confirmed the election before I knew their intention, or could dispose of my consent. Cardinal di Pietro came to my bedside, I being still unable to rise up, to tell me in the name of the Pope, that I must accept of the great charge. I acquiesced, and my consecration is probably to take place the twenty-fourth of April. Cardinal di Pietro is to be my consecrator; and had I asked the Pope, and had not dreaded the expenses, he would most readily perform the solemn function himself; for you cannot conceive what joy and satisfaction it gives him, even in these days, to have erected the New Episcopal Sees. He speaks of it to all that go to see him, and mentions Doctor Carroll's hopes and expectations of soon marking out more new Dioceses in North America. . . . Archbishop Carroll is to have the use of the Pallium with which I am to invest him. Now, my dearest friend, you will say that too late, and in the decline of life have I undertaken such a charge, at every time superior to my abilities, with the labors, cares and dangers attending it. It is very true, but remember that obedience to the Church has alone made me change an easy, quiet and comfortable state of life for a disastrous one. I most earnestly request you will communicate, *as soon as possible*, all the news to the most worthy Doctor Carroll. Pray his Grace to dispose matters and recommend me to the people of New York. . . . I can find no means for conveying a letter to Doctor Carroll. There are some American vessels at Leghorn and Genoa, but an embargo is laid on them. This will render my departure from here very difficult, and I fear the only way I shall have is to attempt getting to Palermo, and there embark on an American ship, or in one bound for England;[10] in which latter case I would enjoy the extreme pleasure of visiting you and my other friends in Ireland once more before my death. . . . I have a bundle of Rescripts for you, and other Prelates in Ireland, England, and Newfoundland, but have no means of forwarding them. . . ."[11]

[10] The way to Palermo was also closed to him by the French stopping all communications between Italy and Sicily.

[11] *Dublin Archives* (in book form, but not paginated or folioed). This document and that which immediately follows are proof conclusive that Archbishop Troy of Dublin had nothing to do with Concanen's appointment to the see of New York. Yet, strange to say, Shea (*Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll*, p. 623) refers to these two letters; and then (*ibid.*, p. 664), states emphatically that Concanen's nomination to that post was "chiefly on his [Troy's] recommendation." (See also documents referred to in *notes* 4, 12, and 13.) It is but fair to Shea's memory to

Writing to the same noted churchman, on May 21, 1808, the bishop-elect says:

> "My last letter, dated 25th March, announced my promotion to the Bishopric of New York. An event which seems as strange to myself as it must have appeared to you. I was scarce arising from my mortal illness, when Cardinal di Pietro came to my bedside to compel me to accept of the great charge. The adieu I had given to the world in my illness, and the present state of affairs here, induced me to a compliance with the Pope's will and that of the Sacred Congregation. My consecration was performed by Di Pietro and two Archbishops assistants, with great pomp, the twenty-fourth ultimo in the church of the Nuns of St. Catherine's. I would have set off for my destination long since, had not the American vessels at Leghorn been sequestered, because visited on their voyage by the English. They soon expect their sentence from Paris of being released, and will then immediately depart for America. I am tempted to go immediately to Leghorn, and there wait an opportunity for my long voyage. . . . It would grieve me if you should not receive the mentioned letter of the twenty-fifth March. Doctor Carroll has not, nor could he receive from hence any information of all that has been done for the Church of North America. I therefore prayed you to acquaint him by some vessel from that Kingdom: that Baltimore is to become an Archiepiscopal See, and that I am to decorate him with the sacred Pallium. Father Egan, the Franciscan, is appointed

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suppose that he had at his disposal only partial or imperfect copies of these documents; for he could hardly have written as he did, had he seen the originals. His bias, however, against the first two Bishops of New York and the great metropolitan of Dublin seems to have made it impossible for him to write fairly of them. Documents in our possession show just as clearly that Doctor Troy had no more to do with the appointment of Father John Connolly as New York's second Bishop than he had to do with the appointment of its first, and that the great churchman in no way deserves the sweeping accusation of interference urged against him by various authors, and especially by Shea in *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll* (pp. 664–665). It is possible that Shea imbibed his prejudice in part from certain letters of the Rev. Charles Plowden to Archbishop Carroll. These unfavorable letters begin with April 30, 1808, and continue through the next two years. They were written under the influence of a controversy, and thus naturally give a rather *ex parte* statement of matters. In his letter of December 23, 1809 (*Catholic Archives of America*, Notre Dame University—in the Archbishop Carroll documents), Father Plowden says: "I wish you to understand, that my apprehensions with respect to that prelate [Concanen] were grounded solely on the circumstance of his being agent of the Archbishop of Dublin with the Propaganda, and of course (I concluded) a favourer of the pretensions of the Prefect, Cardinal di Pietro. . . ." Later, when the unpleasantness had passed away, Father Plowden shows no little gratitude towards and appreciation of Troy, whom he regards as a valuable friend. (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 6, from Q 7 to R 7.) HUGHES, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America—Documents*, Vol. i, Part II, pp. 830–31, 1148–1153, touches on this controversy, which he says (p. 1151) was based on "a misconception at the origin."

Bishop of Philadelphia; Monsieur Cheverus Bishop of Boston; Monsieur Plaget [Flaget] Bishop of Kentucky, and Mr. Nering [Nerinckx] Apostolical Administrator of the Church of Louisiana, should it please his Grace, Doctor Carroll, who is empowered to appoint an Apostolic Delegate or Visitator for the Antillae and Lucayan Islands [*i. e.*, the Antilles and Bahama Islands]. Most ample faculties will be soon granted to you and to the American Archbishop. I shall take care that these be communicable to Newfoundland. . . ."[12]

It was not until July 4, 1808, that Bishop-elect Concanen's letter of the preceding March to Doctor Troy reached its addressee. As a faithful friend of both Carroll and Concanen, the venerable Archbishop of Dublin copied at once and forwarded to Baltimore that portion of it which concerned our American Church:

"Most Reverend and ever dear Lord [he writes on that date]. The usual communication with the European Continent being interrupted, I had but one letter from Doctor Cocanen of Rome since last July, until this day when the packet brought me another from him of so old a date as March 25 last, of which the following is an extract. . . ."

He then proceeds to quote Concanen's letter, and thus congratulates Carroll on his promotion to the rank of metropolitan:

"Allow me now, my dear Lord, to congratulate your Lordship and venerable Brethren on the accession of dignity to the North American Catholic Church, of which I may say you are the Apostle and Founder. May the Lord preserve you to witness the happy effects of your apostolic zeal and exertions. . . ."[13]

Doctor Troy's letter was received at Washington on the twenty-fifth day of September, and brought the following prompt reply from the father of our American hierarchy:

"Washington, September 28, 1808.—Most Reverend and Highly Respected Lord.—Three days ago your Grace's most esteemed favor of

[12] Concanen, Rome, to Troy, Dublin, May 21, 1808. (*Dublin Archives*, ut supra.) This document is another conclusive proof of Shea's error, when he attributes Concanen's episcopal nomination to any other influence than Concanen's own merits. It also sets aside Shea's assertion (*Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll*, p. 623), that "He [Concanen] seems to have obtained considerable donations in money, vestments, plate, etc., for his diocese, filling cases which greatly impeded his travelling at a time when every moment was precious."

[13] Troy, Dublin, to Carroll, Baltimore, July 4, 1808 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 8, N. 2). The interruption of communications between Ireland and Rome noted in this document makes it quite impossible for Doctor Troy to have had any part in the appointment of Father Concanen to New York.

July 4 was received by me at this place and brought the first intelligence of those resolutions so interesting to this portion of the Church, which have been formed and carried into effect in Rome, according to your extract from Right Rev. Doctor Concanen's letter. To your Lordship I am highly indebted for immediately forwarding the advices you had received, which are so far truly gratifying, insomuch as they open a prospect of my relief from a great part of that burden which I could no longer bear. They moreover afford consolation on account of the known virtue of the newly appointed Prelates, who will have their zeal confined to objects nearer to them and more within the sphere of their activity. In a word, I promise myself many excellent effects from the measure adopted by the Holy See, and the complete establishment of an ecclesiastical province. I give myself no credit for being at the head of it; for it was in some sort the result of prior circumstances. Respecting the arrival of the new Bishop of New York, my hopes and fears are nearly balanced. The detention of American merchantmen in the continental ports of Italy and elsewhere afford no grounds to expect that he can procure his passage by that route; but I hope that he may succeed by way of Sicily. He probably has with him the official documents for the erection of the new Episcopal Sees, and it is much to be wished that he may have left Rome before its occupancy by the French army. If his Lordship should chance to be in Ireland, may I pray your Grace to present to him my cordial congratulations, to assure him of my esteem and respect, and of my earnest wish for his arrival. Already I have sent notice to New York of his appointment, and requested that every suitable preparation be made for his reception. . . ."[14]

Although Doctor Concanen did not believe that a letter sent from Italy would reach Baltimore, on account of the political situation of Europe, he did not neglect the attempt to send Archbishop Carroll first-hand information of all that had been done by Propaganda for the Church in the United States. Moreover, as soon as he saw a chance of sailing, although not yet recovered from his illness, he hastened to the port of Leghorn, but the embargo on American ships held him there. He then thought of attempting to pass through France; but, as will be seen in the course of this article, his weakened state of health and advanced years made him shrink from the long overland journey of a thousand or more miles, by the primitive method of travel then in vogue. Besides, the practical certainty of being made a prisoner of war and of losing the many important official documents entrusted to his care by Propaganda, forbade him to

[14] *Dublin Archives*, ut supra. This letter is published in *American Catholic Historical Researches*, Vol. xv (1898), pp. 130–131.

venture into a country which was then so antagonistic to the Holy See and was at war with England of which he was a subject.

From Leghorn the saddened prelate wrote to Doctor Carroll, on July 23, 1808:

"This is the third time I venture to give you an account of what has been done at Rome for the benefit of our holy religion in North America; of the high esteem and credit your Grace is justly held in by that court; and the honourable deference and attention paid to all your proposals. I am confident you will be fully satisfied when you receive the important papers, whereof I am the bearer, except in one point, which is the unhappy choice made in my person for the See of New York. I mentioned, in my former letters, what a sacrifice I have made, and how reluctantly I accepted of the awful charge; tho' otherwise desirous, were I not so advanced in years, of serving, in a lower rank, the mission in the United States, where there is such a pitiful want of laborers; but I was forced to obey the will of the Holy Father. And tho' scarce recovering from a long and dangerous illness, after having been consecrated at Rome, I set off from that city the third of last month, and am here waiting ever since an opportunity of embarking for some port of North America. There is a ship here ready to sail for New York, but she is detained, and with utmost regret, I fear I cannot start from hence before the next Spring. I felt the strongest impulse to venture thro' France to profit of the parliamentary vessel that is to sail from Port Orient, but after consulting many prudent and intelligent persons, I find it would be too probably risking, either my person to be seized, or at least, my papers, matters being now on a bad footing with Rome. The loss of these papers would be too sensible to you, to me, and to the interest of all the Catholic Church in North America. I must therefore wait with patience till an occasion may offer of sailing from some Italian port. In my letters of last March, I acquainted your Grace, that the persons you recommended, were promoted. Doctor Michael Egan to the See of Philadelphia, which takes in Delaware, and a part of New Jersey. Doctor John Sheverus [Cheverus] to Boston and the provinces of New England; and Doctor Plaget [Flaget] to Bardstown, comprehending the provinces of Kentucky, Tennessee, and the great extent near the Ohio, just as you marked out in your last letter to Propaganda. New York takes in the eastern part of New Jersey. And to the metropolitan See of Baltimore are incorporated, for the present, all the provinces of the East down to Georgia inclusively. I say, *for the present*, because Propaganda expects there will be other new Episcopal Sees soon erected, and therefore a reservative clause is inserted in the Bulls, regarding the adnexed provinces. You and your Successors the Archbishops of Baltimore are to enjoy the use of the Apostolical Pallium *in perpetuum*. I carry with me yours and flatter myself the honour, next September or October, of assisting at a splendid function in investing you with that sacred ensign, and the consecration of three new Bishops. Rev. Charles Nerink [Nerinckx] is

appointed ministrator Apostolicus of the See of New Orleans, provided you think proper, with ample faculties you can communicate to him. Amongst them [is] that of conferring the Sacrament of Confirmation. I have some private instructions both for him, and your Grace. As no account has come to Rome, for many years, from the Missions in the Antillae and Lucayan Islands, you are empowered to constitute one or more Apostolic Delegates or Visitators for said places with ample faculties for each of them, which I hold with the other papers. All your spiritual faculties have been confirmed and greatly amplified. Do the charity to acquaint per letter Doctor Lambert of Newfoundland that I have got his spiritual powers renewed and encreased. He can appoint any Priest he chooses to administer Confirmation within his District. I haven't heard from my old confreres of Kentucky, for a year or more. It will be agreeable to them to know that the General of the Dominican Order, with a special Rescript and Indult of the Pope, has delegated to me all his jurisdiction, powers, and faculties both ordinary and extraordinary over all the Dominicans of North America, and of the Islands, and even of the Spanish and Portuguese Continent, that cannot easily communicate with Rome. . . ."[15]

As the reader cannot fail to have noticed, Concanen's letters both as priest and Bishop reveal, not only an amiable disposition and a noble character, but a strong desire to aid the Church in every possible way. But the effect of his zeal was felt especially in those parts where, as agent of their Ordinaries, his influence was requested and his good-will given fuller play. Now that the Seventh Pius and the Sacred College were threatened with imprisonment and exile and Rome's communication with a large part of the Christian world was on the verge of a long interruption, our saintly friar prelate used all his prestige at the Papal court to procure the most extraordinary faculties for those Bishops for whom he was authorized to act.[16] The Most Rev. Pius J.

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[15] *Baltimore Archives*, Case 2, T 1. This letter is published in *American Catholic Historical Researches*, Vol. xxvi (1900), pp. 245–47. The two letters which it tells us Concanen wrote Carroll in the previous March are not in the *Baltimore Archives*. No doubt they were written immediately after Concanen's appointment to New York. Doubtless they were lost, as he feared they would be, on the way, probably falling into the hands of the French and destroyed.

[16] See also, besides Concanen's Letters to Carroll, as noted in this article, those to Troy from March 25, 1808, to June 3, 1810. There are twelve of these latter documents in the Diocesan Archives of Dublin. We have not been able to find any letters from Concanen to Troy prior to that of March 25, 1808, although there can be no doubt that there are many such documents somewhere. See also Bishop Milner, Wolverhampton, to Archbishop Carroll, Baltimore, May 4, 1811 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case C Special, p. 1).

Gaddi, Master General of the Dominicans, and the heads of the other religious Orders were also menaced with an exile that was soon put into effect. It was impossible to foresee the calamities that might befall the Pope or the Church, the Fathers General or their Orders. It was in these straits that Father Gaddi resorted to that exceptional measure of seeking Papal authority to entrust the government of his Order in all the New World to Doctor Concanen, which is mentioned at the end of the above quotation.[17] Gaddi's action is all the more remarkable because Concanen, as a Bishop, was no longer under the Order's jurisdiction. It was an act that required apostolic authorization, being beyond the power of the Father General. But Concanen's long and conspicuous career in Rome and his twenty years odd spent as assistant to successive heads of his Order had made known to both Pius VII and to Father Gaddi his zeal, learning, prudence, and good judgment. The Father General was anxious, under the existing circumstances, to place his Order in America in such safe and wise hands, and he readily disposed His Holiness to grant so singular a petition. In many respects Gaddi's action is probably without a parallel in the seven hundred years of Dominican history.[18] Certainly the implicit confidence reposed in the first Ordinary of New York by Pius VII, by the Sacred Congregations—especially that of Propaganda with which he came into more frequent and immediate contact, and by the highest authorities in his Order, is no less a proof of his sterling worth than of the high esteem in which he was held in the Eternal City. It contains an encomium greater than which the most faithful ecclesiastic could hardly hope for.

Continuing his letter to Doctor Carroll, the new Bishop says:

> "How much do I wish to know what articles you'd like to have from Europe, that I might supply you with them. How many things

[17] We advisedly extend Doctor Concanen's authority to all the Dominicans in the New World, because this seems to be justified by the extraordinary paper published in the original Latin with an English translation in Documents, pp. 78–82; the Bishop's letter, however, does not assume such wide powers.

[18] Father Gaddi's testimony that he obtained orally (*vivae vocis oraculo*) the authorization of Pius VII to bestow such singular powers upon Bishop Concanen, and a copy of the letters patent conferring them, are in the Archives of the Dominican Master General (*Regesta Magistri Generalis Rmi P. Fr. Josephi Gaddi*, Codex IV, 260, p. 5). They are also published, as stated in the preceding note, in this issue of the REVIEW.

may I want myself, after my arrival in America, which I don't now think necessary? I have however, purchased a competent assortment of Pontifical Robes, books, and sacred vessels, and church ornaments, all which I have already destined, by *will*, for the Bishop, *pro tempore*, of New York. I requested your Grace, in the former letters, to be pleased to arrange matters in the best manner you can for my settlement in that Diocese, and appoint a Vicar with all the necessary powers that you and I can delegate to him. [I had] the pleasure of a letter dated last April, from my dear Sir Daniel McHenry. Be pleased to tell him that I'll insist on the paiment of the *quarter of oisters* he promised to regale me with at Baltimore; for which with a prophetic spirit he pledged himself, when taking our walks together near the beautiful Cascades at Tivoli. I cannot, by this occasion, write to my old friend and companion, Rev. Mr. William O'Brien, as I would earnestly wish to do; but wish you to assure him of my regard and affection. I am under many obligations to the Messrs. Purviance, who, on your account, use me many civilities. I am to dine with them this day; and they do me the agreeable favor of forwarding to Port Orient this letter. I dared not trouble them with another for Rev. Mr. O'Brien. You would scarce believe what joy and comfort it has given the poor Pope, circumstanced as he is, to have erected the new Episcopal Sees in North America. I am to give you his compliments and benediction. I entreat yours and your good prayers, that I may arrive one day to assure you in person how respectfully I am, My Most Honoured Dear Lord, your affectionate and obedient Servant. Richard Luke Concanen."

Three days later the anxious and desolate prelate wrote a lengthy and beautiful letter to his American metropolitan, in which he gives again the reasons that forbade him making the foolhardy venture into France in the desperate hope of reaching the United States from that country. His age, his weakened state of health, the imminent danger of being made a prisoner of war and of losing his precious bundles of pallium and official documents, the prospects of a still longer delay, the insistent advice of his friends and well-wishers of the American Church—all these stood out boldly against such a reckless attempt.[19] For four months Concanen remained at Leghorn in the vain

[19] Concanen, Leghorn, to Carroll, Balimore, July 26, 1808, *Baltimore Archives*, Case 2, T 1). In no other letter does Bishop Concanen give so clearly and so strongly the reasons which forbade him to attempt to reach America by the way of France. This document is published in *American Catholic Historical Researches*, Vol. xxvi (1909), pp. 247–49.

hope that some vessel might sail for America. Since the Dominican monastery in that city had been confiscated by the French authorities, he was forced to live in a hotel. His active spirit would not permit him to remain long idle. This, together with the necessity of husbanding his meager resources and of gaining his livelihood, at length compelled him to return to Rome; but before his departure he carefully arranged Doctor Carroll's pallium and the official papers for the Church of America which had been placed in his hands, and left them in charge of Messrs. Anthony and Philip Filicchi, two exemplary Catholic merchants of Leghorn and New York and friends of Carroll, so that, in case a safe opportunity offered itself, they might be forwarded to their destination.[20]

While Bishop Concanen's absence from New York was a great loss to the Church there, his presence at or near Rome was an undisguised blessing to that of the Eternal City. The Holy Father and many of the Cardinals and prelates were soon sent into exile by the French authorities, and Rome was greatly in need of Bishops. After his return there, Doctor Concanen spent his time between that city and Tivoli, some twenty miles away, and was in constant demand for episcopal functions. Thus he tells Archbishop Carroll: "I have exercised all the Pontifical functions in the Cathedral and other churches here." To Doctor Troy he writes: "There remain but seven Bishops in the City. For this reason I am daily employed, as you'll remember was formerly M. Piccolomini, Bishop of Pienza, in going about confirming children, in Pontifical M.M. [masses], Benediction, etc."[21] These occupations, as we learn from his letters, did not deter him from discharging a great amount of business for prelates and ecclesiastics of Ireland and other countries. Nor did he forget, as has been seen, the commissions of his American metropolitan. Yet, with all his busy life at Rome, he kept in touch with the

[20] Concanen, Florence, to Carroll, Baltimore, September 26, 1808 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 8a, E 2); Concanen, Rome, to Carroll, Baltimore, August 9, 1809 (*ibid.*, Case 2, T 1); Concanen, Rome, to Troy, Dublin, November 19, 1808, and May 20, 1809 (*Dublin Archives, ut supra*).

[21] Concanen to Carroll, August 9, 1809, as in *note* 20; Concanen, Rome, to Troy, Dublin, January 10, 1810 (*Dublin Archives*).

reports from the various Italian seaports that he might miss no opportunity of reaching his beloved flock in New York.[22]

Keenly alive to the interests of his Diocese and aware of its great need of missionaries, he cast about in search of worthy clergymen whom he might take with him to America, and sought to learn what chances there were of getting means from New York for their transportation. In this connection he wrote to Archbishop Carroll:

> "I eagerly wish to be instructed by you concerning a very interesting object. I well know the great want there is of zealous missionaries for the United States. Numbers of Italian, and some Irish Ecclesiastics have offered themselves to accompany me to America. Out of these I could select six, or eight, on whose zeal, probity and capacity I might depend. But how to manage for the expences of their voyage, is the question. Nothing is to be expected from Propaganda, which has lost the greater part of its revenues. I haven't had one farthing from it, or from any other quarter, to defray the great expences I have been at; or those that I am to undergo in my future journey. I expect you'll have the goodness to let me know if there be any means, or any provision, by a collection, etc., for defraying the charges of the voyage from Leghorn to some port of North America, for any determined number of Priests, that I could safely depend upon for the service of that mission. . . ."

Again he writes the same churchman, August 9, 1809:

> ". . . I mentioned in some former letters, my desire of knowing what provisions there may be and what supply to defray the expences of the voyage of two or more missionaries, whom I can depend upon, and would conduct with me to labour on the mission. Nothing is to be now expected from Propaganda. . . ."[23]

[22] Letters of Concanen to Troy (as in *note* 16). As may be seen from these documents, the vexing question of the veto by which the English government sought to gain control of the appointments to the Catholic hierarchy in the British Isles claimed much of Concanen's time at this period. Father Louis Nolan, O.P., who has made a close study of this question, tells us (*o. c.*, p. 43), that on this and other matters relating to the Church in Ireland, Propaganda frequently requested Concanen's views. "Far away himself from the scenes and heats of the excitement of that troubled time in Ireland [continues Nolan], and being kept well informed of all the events as they occurred, Father Concanen, aided by these advantages as well as by his great tact and sound judgment, wrote reports for Propaganda which not only make interesting reading today but also throw much and valuable light on certain events of the period." See also Concanen, Rome, to Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, Lyons, October 28, and November 30, 1809; February 12, and March 26, 1810 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 14, U 1, 2, 3, 4); and March 13, 1810 (*ibid.*, Case 21a, A 4).

[23] Concanen, Florence, to Carroll, Baltimore, September 26, 1808 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 8a, E 2); same, Rome, to Carroll, Baltimore, August 9, 1809 (*ibid.*, Cases 2, T 1).

To Archbishop Troy the anxious prelate writes on the same topic:

"You will do me a singular favour in procuring for me some news from Doctor Carroll of Baltimore. Let him know I wrote to him several times since my unfortunate appointment. I wish to know from him what articles and commissions he would wish to have from Europe. I know the great want there is of Missionaries in the United States, and eagerly wish to be informed what encouragement there would be for the passage and settlement of some choice Italian Priests, who learned the English, and whom I could take over with me. Doctor Carroll never mentioned in any of his letters, what assignment there is for the support of the new Bishops. If you can give me instruction about these points before my departure (which will be God knows when), you will greatly oblige me. I beg you will also write a letter for me to our Father O'Brien of New York, as I fear he will not have received mine. . . ."[24]

In all his trials and tribulations Bishop Concanen never relaxed his efforts to serve the great metropolitan of Baltimore and the interests of our missions. Thus we find him writing from Florence:

"My Dear and Honoured Lord: This is the sixth time I do myself the honour of writing to you, after my promotion to the See of New York. In my last, dated at Leghorn, I acquainted you with the disappointment I met with in not being permitted to embark from that port for America. After a loss of much time, and money, finding that no American vessel will be permitted to sail from the ports under the French influence, I determined to return to Rome, where I must wait, till Providence will open some way for arriving at length at my destination. As a considerable time, I fear, may pass before I can have this happiness, you will have ample space to let me know your commands and commissions for whatever you may wish to have from Italy. I shall, with great pleasure, execute them all. . . ."[25]

In another letter he observes further:

". . . There are some hopes that before next Spring, American vessels will be permitted to sail from Leghorn. If so, I shall have a place in the first of them; and take with me my books, Pontifical utensils, sacred ornaments, etc., without which I should be greatly distressed arriving in America. Some of my friends pointed out to me the plan of going through France, and waiting there in some port for an opportunity of sailing. This would be attended with innumerable difficulties, besides the impossi-

[24] Concanen, Rome, to Troy, Dublin, November 19, 1808 (*Dublin Archives*). The same subject is also keenly discussed by Concanen, Rome, to Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, Lyons, October 28 and November 30, 1809, and February 12, 1810 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 14, U 1, 2 and 3).

[25] The letter of September 26, 1808, as in *note* 23.

bility of taking with me my baggage, and the danger of losing, in the frequent perquisitions, the Bullas, the Pallium, and numerous official papers. At my departure from Leghorn last Summer, I left all these papers sealed up in separate bundles, in the care of Messrs. Filicchi, with directions to forward them immediately to your Grace, if ever a safe occasion offered. They wrote me from time to time, that this happy opportunity never presented itself; and that probably I must be the bearer of the interesting acts. Before we lost the presence of our Holy Father, I took care to signify to him what you mentioned concerning Doctor Plaget's [Flaget's] reluctance to accept of the Bishoprick of Bardstown. His Holiness expressly ordered, and commanded in virtue of holy obedience, this worthy Gentleman to acquiesce, and accept of the charge imposed on him. I have the authentic act. And your Grace will be pleased to communicate to Doctor J. Plaget the will and command of the supreme Pontiff, that he may prepare himself for the solemn ceremony, at which, I hope in God, I'll have the comfort of assisting at next Pentecost. On this subject permit me to add, and assure your Grace, that no appointment, no arrangement of any importance, regarding the Churches of the United States, will be adopted by the Holy See without your previous advice and consent. This I have taken special care to have determined on. . . ."[26]

Now that Concanen had been consecrated Bishop of New York, that See was no longer under the jurisdiction of Baltimore. For this reason, seeing no prospect of getting to America in the immediate future and not wishing his beloved people to be deprived of the guidance of a resident spiritual head, he wrote on July 23, 1808, as has been seen, to request and authorize Doctor Carroll to appoint to the new Diocese a Vicar General with all the authority that the conjoint power of the Archbishop and Bishop could bestow on him.[27] On the receipt of this

[26] Concanen, Rome, to Carroll, Baltimore, August 9, 1809 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 2, T 1). A further testimony of Concanen's fruitful zeal in aiding those prelates who sought his assistance comes from Bishop Milner. ". . . This leads me to the second object of my letter, which is to enquire whether the Irish Prelates and myself may not hope to be able to carry on some communication with our Holy Father through your Grace. We British subjects are not allowed by [the French?] to send a letter to any person and least of all to the Pope; but you American subjects, I presume, have all the facilities for this purpose which the French themselves have. Since the death of my lamented friend and agent and your suffragan, Doctor Concanen, neither I nor any of the Irish Bishops has been able to hold the least communication with the common father. Doctor Troy has written twice over, but in vain, to Leghorn and Palermo to learn if there be any channel for the communication in question. . . ." (Bishop Milner, Wolverhampton, to Carroll, Baltimore, May 4, 1811.) (*Baltimore Archives*, Case C Special, P 1.)

[27] *Baltimore Archives*, Case 2, T 1. A note in the handwriting of Archbishop Carroll on this letter says that it was received on October 11, 1808.

letter (October 11, 1808), the venerable prelate of Baltimore appointed Rev. Anthony Kohlman, S.J., to this position. Father Kohlman took with him to New York his zealous and charming fellow Jesuit, Rev. B. J. Fenwick, afterwards second Bishop of Boston. Carroll communicated this news to Concanen, who wrote in reply:

> ". . . I dare say, I fully comprehend the nature of the disposition you have taken to remove the disagreeable circumstances that had arisen in the Church of New York, and which you could not commit to paper. I thank you for them; and I am sure that thereby you have spared me a disagreeable office. I beg you'll assure Messrs. Kohlman and Fenwick of my regard and affection. . . ."[28]

When this point had been settled, the zealous and far-seeing Ordinary of New York began to plan some way for the education of young aspirants to the priesthood in his episcopal city. In this connection, as well as in regard to the needs of the American missions and the means of doing some favors for Carroll, he opened a correspondence with Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, S.S., then rector of a Seminary at Lyons, France, but who had been in the United States and was a close friend of Carroll. On Maréchal's advice, Concanen determined to establish a small College and Seminary in the city of New York; and, on learning from Baltimore that he could expect no aid from America to carry out his cherished design of bringing a number of missionaries to his Diocese, he engaged two Franciscans to take charge of his projected educational institution.[29] Shortly after he had contracted with these men, however, he was informed by Archbishop Carroll that Father Kohlman had opened a College in New York, an arrangement which rather upset his plans. The Bishop intended to use the proceeds from his College to educate his clerical students; and, as he understood that Father Kohlman had established in the name of the Society of Jesus what was later known as *The New York Literary Institution*, and had associated with this school the only church then in the city, after the news of his (Concanen's) appointment to that See had reached America, the good man, mild as he was, was somewhat indignant that such

[28] Concanen, Rome, to Carroll, Baltimore, August 9, 1809 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 2, T 1).

[29] Concanen, Rome, to Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, Lyons, October 28, and November 30, 1809, and March 26, 1810 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 14, U 1, 2 and 4), and March 13, 1810 (*ibid.*, Case 21a, A 4).

a step should have been taken without his knowledge and consent. In a letter to Archbishop Troy he expressed himself on the subject in rather strong language.[30] Later, however, when he heard from Doctor Carroll himself that he had been misinformed on these matters, his wrath was turned into satisfaction—a sure token of a noble character and of much confidence in our great American prelate. He then writes to Maréchal, possibly by way of apology:

> ". . . Our good friend, Mr. Plunkett of Leghorn, pre-informed you of the news I'd have here to communicate; to wit, that since my last to you, I received two letters from Doctor Carroll, wherein his Grace acquaints me, that there is already a Catholic School or Academy opened at New York, under the direction of Mr. Cohlman [Kohlman], a Jesuit come from Russia, some years back, who is appointed Vicar General and Parish Priest of that Church. This Academy, the Doctor says, is served by young men sent from the College of Georgetown, and was erected, as he informs me, *before he heard of my appointment to that See.* He gives me moreover, the pleasing news of the thriving state of Religion in my Diocese, and that there is also a Catholic School opened at New York for female children. . . . Had I known before of the establishment of the new Academy at New York, I probably would not have engaged the two young Franciscans to accompany me. The younger, Father Hayes, has had many invitations elsewhere. I'll expect the favour of your sage and respected counsel. It will give me some pain not to be able to take with me in passing through France the various commissions I am honoured with by Doctor Carroll. Another piece of news that Doctor Carroll gives me is, that there is a new Church now a building at New York, which is to be dedicated to St. Patrick. . . . I have no means of writing to Doctor Carroll. You'll be pleased to supply for me. You know my situation, and all I'd have to say to him. . . ."[31]

Much of this document, as well as all Concanen's letters to Maréchal, show that, in spite of the short-lived misunderstanding which arose on account of the Jesuit College at New York, our friar lost none of his former love and esteem for his friend, Archbishop Carroll. Bishop Concanen made numerous efforts to forward to Doctor Carroll the papal documents concerning the

[30] Concanen, Rome, to Troy, Dublin, January 3, 1810 (*Dublin Archives*).

[31] Concanen, Rome, to Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, Lyons, February 12, 1810 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 14, U 3). This letter, and those referred to in *note* 29, and that of Concanen, Naples, to Maréchal, Lyons, June 15, 1810 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 14, U 5) clearly refute Shea's charge of unrighteous wrath on the part of Concanen against Archbishop Carroll for having sent the Jesuit Fathers to New York. (SHEA, *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll*, p. 628, and *A History of the Catholic Church within the Limits of the United States*, vol. 3, p. 162.)

American Church. These efforts, as well as the good man's ardent desire to get to his diocese, were frustrated by Napoleon Bonaparte. His own judgment and the advice of prudent friends told him that in all probability it would be disastrous to himself to venture through France on his way to America; there was, moreover, the danger of losing the pallium and official papers in his charge, whether he carried them in person or entrusted them to the mails. Though a man of strong will, his spirits were so cast down by trials and disappointments at times, that he would gladly have resigned his See, had not his keen sense of obedience and duty forbidden it. Although he ever regretted his episcopal appointment and knew well through the letters of Carroll and Maréchal the poverty, the privations and the labors awaiting him in New York, he could not be induced to consider even the hopes that were held out to him to exchange his American diocese for the Archdiocese of Tuam in his native land—a circumstance which speaks well for his humility and courage, his love of America, his obedience and his apostolic spirit.[32]

Growing weary with this long and painful delay, the grief-stricken prelate finally determined in the fall of 1809 to have authentic copies made of all his American documents; and if no favorable opportunity offered itself in Italy by the following spring, to go at all hazards into France with these copies in the desperate hope of sailing from some port of that country. In this purpose he was encouraged by two Sulpicians, Fathers Emery and Maréchal. Maréchal, indeed, generously took up a collection in Lyons to be given to the Bishop when he reached

[32] Concanen to Maréchal, as in *note* 29; same to Troy from May 20, 1809, to June 3, 1810 (*Dublin Archives, ut supra*); and Troy, Dublin (?), to the Prefect of Propaganda, September 9, 1809 (*Propaganda Archives, Irlanda*, Vol. xix, fol. 319). In his letter to Troy, May 20, 1809, Concanen says: "Would to God! I could decently renounce my American station, and every other of that nature . . . Propaganda has too great an idea of the good they think I may do in America. . . . And the fact is I may finish my days here. For there is not the remotest appearance of getting off, and if I pass another year in Italy, I shall, at all events, renounce my station. . . ." To the same churchman he writes on April 18, 1810, in regard to the proposal to exchange the Diocese of New York for the Metropolitan See of Tuam: ". . . I can safely say, that were Paul (*a name used for prudence' sake to designate Pius VII*) here, and that I were to move for myself, the business would be done. . . ." But he would neither do this nor consent to the change. His determination seems to have been that if, against his own will, he must be a Bishop, he would be one only where obedience had placed him.

that place, to help him pay his own transportation and that of the missionaries whom he hoped to take with him to New York. Fathers Emery and Maréchal, as Frenchmen, were imbued with a little of that national bias which is so natural to us all, and were inclined to look with a favorable eye on their countrymen. They could see no danger to the Bishop in a journey through France. But Concanen had been an eye-witness of the French outrages in Italy and knew that English subjects in France were being held as prisoners of war. Consequently, he dreaded such a step. At first Emery insisted that Carroll's pallium and the original papal documents should be forwarded to the notorious Cardinal Fesch, even without copies being made of them. But this the Bishop was not disposed to do; and Father Emery himself later advised against such a step as rash in the extreme.[33]

Thus, in October, 1809, through Rev. James Whitfield, Concanen solicited Maréchal's good services in procuring "a letter of recommendation to his Excellency, Mr. Degerando," through

[33] Concanen to Maréchal as in *note* 29; same, Rome, to Troy, Dublin, January 25, 1810 (*Dublin Archives*); Rev. Peter Plunkett, Leghorn, to Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, Lyons, June 8, 1811 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 6, W 6). In this letter to Troy Concanen says: "The Sulpician Priests of France are very impatient I should set out for America, and propose my going to Paris, and there wait till an American parliamentary Ship come to some Port of France. I look upon the plan to be desperate; yet I believe I must adopt it, if I get the passports. Here I cannot long maintain myself. . . ." And to Maréchal he writes on November 30, 1809, half jocularly and half in earnest (referring to his correspondent's generous offer of financial aid): "From an Irish Priest at Paris, Mr. McNulty, I am informed of Mr. Emery's impatience, for my not having gone to America, or not having sent the Bulls and official papers. He adds affliction to the afflicted. If I'm not gone, the fault is not mine. Messrs. Filicchi, Purviance, and Sartori can witness how often I attempted to send off the Bulls, etc. When Mr. Emery makes the good-natured offers Mr. Maréchal has, then I'll believe he's more anxious for the Interest of Religion than for the Consecration of his friends, Plaget and Sheverus. . . ." The Messrs. Filicchi mentioned in this and other letters of Concanen deserved well of the early Church of New York. They were also influential in the conversion of Mrs. Seton. Sartori was a merchant of Leghorn. The Messrs. Purviance were respectable merchants of Baltimore, who were probably held in Italy in the same way that Concanen himself was detained there. All were friends of Archbishop Carroll. They were prudent and practical business men of the world. It was they and others of like character who advised against New York's first Bishop trusting himself or his documents into France. These facts, as the letters we have just quoted, show how unfounded is the assertion, which one reads here and there, that Doctor Concanen might have easily reached America through France. It was likely through French sources that Archbishop Carroll derived, apparently at least, such an opinion, though he expresses it mildly. (Carroll, Baltimore, to Bishop Plessis, Quebec, October 15, 1810—in *Records of American Catholic Historical Society*, Vol. xviii (1907), pp. 291–93.)

whom he hoped to obtain a passport for France. The recommendation came from Degerando's mother; and finally, in March, 1810, our Bishop secured an order for the passport. But just at this juncture the good man received assurances that two vessels would certainly sail from Naples in June, and that he could secure passage on one of them. He changed his plans at once, ordered his papal documents, a part of his luggage and Carroll's pallium from Leghorn, despatched one copy of the Briefs to Father Emery, and placed another in the keeping of Rev. John J. Argenti of the Propaganda. Armed with a passport obtained from Gen. Miollis, then governor of Rome, Bishop Concanen set off for Naples in the last days of May with his precious treasure of pallium and episcopal appointments. While his heart must have rejoiced at the thought of finally being able to reach his beloved flock, his joy could not have been without sorrow, for he was unable to take with him the zealous missionaries in whom he saw excellent workers for his diocese of New York.[34] The poor man's trials, however, had not yet come to an end. From Naples he wrote to Father Maréchal:

> "Naples, the fifteenth of June, 1810.—Dear and very Esteemed Friend.—Mindful of your kind request, that I would acquaint you of the time of my departure from this port, I come to inform you, that at length Divine Providence has opened to me the long-desired passage to the United States; and that, after numberless difficulties and trials, I hope, with the blessing of God, to set sail next Sunday, the seventeenth instant, aboard the *Frances*, Captain *Haskell*, for Salem near Boston. This is the only vessel permitted to depart from hence for North America; and she is to convey home the Captains and Crews of many other ships, to the number of 260 passengers. You will easily imagine, that in so crowded a vessel I must expect bad accommodations; but it consoles me to think, that all I suffer, is for the glory of God, and sake of our holy Religion. It was through the interest and recommendation of my friend, Mr. Filicchi of Leghorn, that the Captain consented at all to take me on board, without any servant or companion. I am of course obliged to leave behind me some excellent young Priests who were eager to accompany me, and a clever faithful servant man, who, along with many other qualities, is a very good organist. I must humbly adore the dispensations of Divine Providence, and patiently bear the many contradictions I have hitherto suffered. . . ."

[34] Concanen to Maréchal, as in *note* 29, and Naples, June 15, 1810 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 14, U 5); Rev. Peter Plunkett, Leghorn, to Carroll, Baltimore, and to Troy, Dublin, September 3, 1810 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 6, W 3, and *Dublin Archives*, ut supra).

The Bishop then proceeds to tell Maréchal how he desires and hopes soon to have him as his coadjutor in New York, and closes his letter with the words:

> "I'll expect from your Reverence the news of Europe, and in recompense you shall be one of the first to whom I will write from America. In reading this letter remember to recommend to divine protection, My Dear and Most Respected Sir, your most obliged and affectionate Servant. ✠ Richard Luke Concanen."[35]

The above letter, we fancy, was the last from our great Friar Preacher's busy pen. Four days later he was no more. Messrs. Hammet and Appleton, American consuls respectively at Naples and Leghorn, had actively interested themselves in behalf of the genial prelate. Through their influence the captain of the *Frances*, although at first declining to receive Doctor Concanen aboard, not only agreed to take him as a passenger, but assigned him the best place on the ship. But the government officials at Naples demanded that another passport be issued there before the Bishop would be allowed to leave. Consul Hammet kindly applied in person for it at the Board of Police. A quibble was then raised about Concanen's nationality. Although the passport he had obtained from General Miollis at Rome clearly stated that he was a native of Ireland, a doubt (apparently pretended) served as a pretext for a refusal to grant another; and an officer was at once despatched to Doctor Concanen's lodgings to forbid him at his peril to attempt to sail without further permission. It was later determined, it would seem, to permit him to go. But it was too late, and the dying bishop never knew of such a determination.[36] The threatening order, which Bishop Concanen understood to signify either a positive intent not to allow him to come to America, or a ruse to delay matters until it would be too late for him to take the *Frances*, was so violent a shock to him that it caused his death in

[35] *Baltimore Archives*, as in preceding *note*.

[36] Rev. Peter Plunkett, Leghorn, to Troy, Dublin, September 3, 1810 (*Dublin Archives*); same, Leghorn (evidently to Carroll), Baltimore, September 3, 1810 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 6, W 3); Rev. Thomas Lombardi, Naples, al Molto Rev. Padre Maestro Molineri, Rome, June 29, 1810 (Archives of the *Dominican General*, Codex xi, 114). Father Plunkett's two letters give more details than does that of Lombardi. He cites Father Lombardi as the source of at least some of his information. These three documents show clearly that Bishop Concanen died on June 19, 1810, and not June 18, or June 20, as has been variously stated.

less than two days. To Father Thomas Lombardi, a Dominican who was with him, and who was probably one of the zealous priests desirous of accompanying him to New York, the afflicted prelate remarked: "Well, now I may say a farewell to America forever."[37]

This was the morning of Sunday, June 17. On Monday evening the good bishop desired to make his confession, which he said would be his last. He confessed "with such sentiments of compunction as would have pierced the heart of a stone, or melted it into tears." He then desired to be left alone to commune with his Creator, but desired Father Lombardi to call early next day. The faithful priest returned shortly after midnight and found Doctor Concanen speechless, but still conscious. The last rites of the Church were then administered, and in a few moments New York's first Ordinary gave up his noble soul to God—June 19, 1810. The next day his remains were laid to rest in the vault of his Order in the great Dominican Church of San Domenico Maggiore, at Naples.[38]

At the time of Doctor Concanen's appointment to New York, Propaganda was reduced to such straitened circumstances through the occupation of Rome by the French and the failure of a bank to which its funds were largely entrusted, that it was unable to aid him in any way. The same invasion had also brought poverty to the doors of his Order in Rome. For these reasons Pius VII authorized our indigent friar Bishop to appropriate to his own use a burse that he had been permitted to establish, when assistant to the Father General, for the education of young men of his province for the Irish Missions. With these means, and probably with financial aid which he received from friends and from various persons whose agent he was at Propaganda, he fitted himself out with an episcopal equipment, books, etc., and prepared to set off for his distant Diocese. All had gone well with him, had not the French embargo held him in Europe. As the zealous prelate's letters show, the expenses to

[37] *Ibid.*

[38] *Ibid.* The suspicion has been expressed that Bishop Concanen died of poison stealthily administered by those in authority in Naples; but we find nothing to corroborate such an opinion in the letters of those most intimately connected with the good prelate. Father Lombardi, who seems to have accompanied him to Naples and was with him at the time of his death, says nothing of such a crime.

which he was put soon made serious inroads on the funds he strove to save for the benefit of his American charge. In this regard Archbishop Troy, Bishops Moylan, Milner and others seem to have come to his aid and to have helped him save or recuperate his depleted resources.[39]

Before the exile of Pius VII, Doctor Concanen safeguarded his vow of religious poverty by obtaining from that Pontiff permission to dispose of his possessions as he judged proper, in case death came upon him before he reached America—an eventuality he appears to have foreseen from the time of his consecration. For this reason, he made his last will and testament, on January 30, 1810. In spite of papal authority to do as he liked with his belongings, after consulting the good of his soul and satisfying the dictates of piety and gratitude, he felt that in case he did not use them himself, they should be returned to the Order whence they had been principally obtained. He divided, therefore, the residue of his modest estate between his own Province in Ireland and the American Province in whose establishment he had been highly instrumental.[40] A living tradi-

[39] Concanen, Rome, to Troy, Dublin, March 25, May 21, November 19, 1808; May 20, September 27, 1809; January 3, and 25, 1810; and Peter Plunkett, Leghorn, to Troy, Dublin, September 3, 1810 (all in *Dublin Archives*, ut supra); Concanen, Leghorn, and Rome, to Carroll, Baltimore, July 23 and 26, 1808, and August 9, 1809 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 2, T 1); same, Rome, to Maréchal, Lyons, November 30, 1809, and February 12, 1810 (*ibid.*, Case 14, U 2 and 3). At times his letters to Troy, in which he shows the efforts he made to save his property for the use of the Church in New York, make really pitiful reading.

[40] Peter Plunkett, Leghorn (evidently to Carroll), September 3, 1810 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 6, W 3); same, Leghorn, to Troy, Dublin, September 3, 1810 (*Dublin Archives*); John Joseph Argenti, Rome, to Troy, Dublin, March 7, 1812 (*ibid.*); *Memoria per Illmo Signore Arcivescovo Olimpio, Direttore del Debito Publico* (copy?)—a document of twelve pages and undated, but belonging to 1822 or early 1823 (*ibid.*); and a copy (perhaps an English rendition) of Concanen's will (*Tallaght Archives*—unlisted). If we accept the statements of this letter of Plunkett and the above Memoria, which are probably correct, and place on the English pound and the Roman crown or scudo the highest value possible for that date, Bishop Concanen had some four thousand dollars at the time of his death. Of this sum he bequeathed 100 pounds to his only sister, his nieces and nephews; 1,000 Roman crowns or scudi in part for Mass-offerings, and in part as a remuneration to certain persons who had deserved well of him; and 500 scudi to San Clemente, Rome, or his province of Ireland. The remainder he left to Saint Rose's Priory, in Kentucky. Thus, according to these documents, the proto-Dominican house in the United States was residuary legatee of Bishop Concanen to about $2,000, the amount which a tradition still living in the province tells us it received from his estate. We find an echo of this tradition in Spalding (*Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky*, p.

tion tells us that Bishop Concanen was a tall, well-built man. His splendid physique and commanding appearance were the more attractive because of his generous heart, his pleasant manners and his kindly, ascetic countenance.[41] The same tradition tells us further that in him learning and humility, meekness and strength of character were most happily blended. It is no matter for wonder, therefore, that he appears to have been much loved by all with whom he came in contact.

At the time of his demise New York's first Ordinary was two or three and sixty years of age. His exiled friend and admirer, Pius VII, was deeply afflicted at the report of his death.[42] Had he been spared, much good for the Church in our great American metropolis, in spite of his years, might have been expected from his zeal, good judgment, and experience, his learning and amiable temperament. The young Diocese of New York might have been spared a long and sad widowhood. That Doctor Concanen was a man of singularly exalted character and admirable disposition is the verdict from many sources. His friendships and the high esteem in which he was held by two saintly Popes, by the Sacred Congregations at Rome, and by learned prelates in various parts of the world, and in his own Order; the universal confidence reposed in him and the honors that were thrust upon him; the affection that he unconsciously won from persons in every walk of life—all these declare his praise in a way that cannot be misunderstood. That his affectionate regard for the father of our American Hierarchy remained unchanged until the end is attested

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154, Louisville, 1844), where we are told that this was the sum Saint Rose's received from Concanen. To the same institution he bequeathed two "parcels" of books, sacred articles, etc. But from Argenti's letter to Troy of March 7, 1812, and the fact that there are no books in the library at the Priory with the Bishop's name in them—and there is no tradition that any were ever received—it would seem that these two packets never reached their destination. Quite a different story is this from that which one reads in DeCourcy-Shea (*o. c.*, p. 365): "By his will, made doubtless before his consecration, he bequeathed to the Dominican Convent of St. Rose, in Kentucky, his rich library and a legacy of $20,000; and these were also lost to the Diocese of New York."

[41] This tradition is borne out by the information given Rev. J. W. Cummings of New York (*Notes furnished by William F. McLaughlin from mss. of Bishop Bayley*). See also *Historical Records and Studies*, Vol. ii (1900), Part I, pp. 101–102.

[42] Cardinal Pamphili, Savona, to Propaganda, August 12, 1810 (*Propaganda Archives, Diario di Propaganda dall' Anno* 1808 *all' Anno* 1814, *Sommario*, No. 27, p. 177).

both by his letters and by the fact that on the eve of his death he began to prepare the way for the appointment, as his coadjutor, to New York, of an intimate and confidential friend of Archbishop Carroll, the Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, who later, indeed, became the third metropolitan of Baltimore.

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THE ATTITUDE OF SPAIN DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

More than four score years ago the American people, attracted by the style of Irving, their first man of letters, began to read widely in the field of Spanish history. Those who became acquainted with *Columbus* did not doubt that in the *Conquest of Granada* and the *Tales of the Alhambra* they would find equal entertainment. In this expectation they were not disappointed. But they sought something more than entertainment. They longed to learn about the people who had given to civilization a new world, who had opened to the commerce of Europe the trade of the Pacific, who had circumnavigated the globe, and who had attempted to Christianize the aborigines of two archipelagos and two continents. Moreover, they desired to know something of the national characteristics of Spaniards, who had transferred to the New World the civilization of the Old, and whose descendants were their neighbors and in the War for Independence had been their friends. But the record of Spanish achievement in America could have been examined in the pages of some dull chronicle. In a form more attractive the literary art of Irving gave to his countrymen not only glimpses of olden times in Spain but impressions of antiquity interesting to all the human race. To Americans his descriptions of Spanish life appeared to be pictures of a distant past, but they were not. They were records, more or less faithful, of the Spain that he knew. The centuries had come and gone without greatly changing the daily life or the ideals of her people. In that country of romance Irving, whose genius lay somewhere in the enchanted region between fiction and history, found themes adapted to his taste.

Ten years after the appearance of Irving's life of Columbus, Prescott, who also had been captivated by romantic Spain, published *The History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella.* This added definiteness of outline to the chief incidents in the golden age of Castile, while the *Conquest of Peru*, the *Conquest of Mexico*, and *Philip II.*, a work upon which he was engaged at the time of his death, showed the rapid territorial growth of the Spanish empire and the great increase of its power. In brief, the pages of Irving and Prescott revealed for the first time to

their countrymen the outlines of an empire, perhaps the most splendid and powerful that the world had seen. Yet notwithstanding its grandeur it contained the elements of disaster and decay.

This empire, upon which the sun never set, squeezed from its subjects revenues nearly ten times as great as those of Elizabethan England. When the Virgin Queen had scarcely a battalion of regulars, the captains of Philip II. commanded a standing army of fifty thousand. Unlike other princes of modern times he held dominion of the land and of the sea, and during a part of his troubled reign was supreme on both. The air alone was free. In that element he could neither hush nor guide the tempest. At St. Quentin his soldiers inflicted on the French a decisive defeat, which they failed to improve; his Armada menaced the independence of England. In short, the power of Philip II. at one time surpassed even that of Napoleon, whose control stopped with the shore. But unlike the Emperor of France, the ruler of Spain, attached to an inherited system, was greatly lacking in originality. Besides an unequalled revenue, a victorious army, and a powerful navy Philip had merchantships, and commerce, and colonies. His people received and distributed the spices of the East and the treasure of the West. This superiority was well deserved, for Spain was the home of brave soldiers and renowned statesmen.

Englishmen are fond of praising the chivalrous and versatile Sidney, courtier, statesman, soldier, and poet. Indeed it is difficult to overpraise him. The England of James I. had Bacon, "the brightest, the wisest, and the meanest of mankind," and Jonson, Raleigh, and many other men of action who were also eminent men of letters. Startling as the statement may appear, in Spain such men were still more numerous. There were few Spanish men of letters who were not at the same time soldiers or statesmen. This must be the conclusion of a reader of the *History of Spanish Literature*, by George Ticknor, who belonged to the epoch of Irving and Prescott.

Not long did Spain remain at the zenith of her power. Even before the death of Philip II. there were murders, and massacres, and endless wars which wasted her substance. Time surely brought round its changes. The empire at the close of the seventeenth century was very different from what it was at the

accession of Philip II. Kingdoms and dukedoms had been lost, art had perished, and literature was about to enter upon a dead season. Such legions as were once commanded by Alva and Farnese had vanished as completely as the spectral army that besieged the walls of Prague. Their not distant successors, diminished in number, were ill paid and poorly disciplined. The royal guard, the most favored of those disorganized bands, according to Macaulay, battled daily with beggars at the doors of convents "for a porringer of broth and a morsel of bread." This wretched army was matched with a navy not less wretched. With the death of Charles III., the heroic age of the Spanish empire may be said to have come to an end. Its partition was not long delayed. During this dismemberment the rising powers came, like vultures on eager wing, to banquet on its fragments. For the present purpose it is enough to state that this amazing change was accomplished by bad government.

The Spain described by Irving, and Prescott, and Ticknor is the Spain which educated Americans know best. The succeeding epoch, when the national grandeur had departed, is much less familiar. Yet that later history is of considerable intrinsic interest. In part it explains the Anglo-American estimate of nearly everything Spanish and Spanish-American, an estimate by no means complimentary. Nevertheless, the relations between the United States and the republics of South America are becoming more friendly. This good feeling, even if a little belated, is in harmony with the facts of both American and Spanish-American history. During the Revolutionary War, Spain and her colonies assisted the people of the United States in their gallant fight for freedom. Though the nature of this assistance may be discovered in the archives of either country, there is in our historical literature no adequate treatment of this important subject.

Ten years ago, in the *Catholic University Bulletin*, the writer called attention to this and to other deficiencies in the existing accounts of the Revolutionary War.[1] Since that time Doctor Edler has written an excellent monograph on *The Relation of Holland to the American Revolution*. Dr. B. F. Jameson, indeed, had examined still earlier a portion of the same field. Con-

[1] January, 1906.

cerning the nature of French assistance there is an abundance of material. Without reading beyond Doniol and Wharton one gets not every detail, it is true, but sufficient information to form a just conclusion on the subject. In a word, the nature of French and of Dutch assistance has been adequately, if not exhaustively, treated; that of Spain, which was not insignificant, has to a great extent been neglected. While that theme cannot be fully described in the limits of an essay, its nature may be at least suggested. The present inquiry, therefore, aims at nothing more than a treatment in outline of the attitude of Spain and her colonies to the American Revolution.

Spain did not pursue a constant policy from the beginning to the end of the American Revolution. In 1776 her purpose was to assist in keeping England's colonies in a state of disaffection. To maintain this unrest she gave, June 27, 1776, to the American commissioners, through Vergennes, the sum of 1,000,000 francs.[2] As she was unprepared for war, this act could not prudently be proclaimed. Therefore the secret was carefully guarded by Charles III. and his minister Grimaldi. Before the transaction became known in England more than a year had passed. Though the colonies were disaffected, by Spain they were expected to remain subject to the mother country. The task of imposing peace upon them, it was hoped, would leave England no leisure to undertake aggressions on Spanish America. At the outset this principle controlled the policy of Charles III. and his minister. When the issue between England and her colonies was no longer a question of redressing grievances but of gaining independence, Spain lost interest in the insurgents, for she feared the influence on her own colonists of an example of successful revolt. During this period, therefore, she discouraged all American advances. Of the American policies adopted by Spain this was the second.

In 1779, after having been drawn into the conflict against Great Britain, the attitude of Spain suffered still another change. Participation in the widening war led her to summon up a remembrance of the past. In it she beheld wrongs to be avenged, losses to be recovered, and national greatness to be restored. Of

[2] With money furnished by Spain considerable shipments of military stores for the use of Congress were subsequently made by the house of Gardoqui.

those considerations perhaps the last, the desire to become again a power of the first rank, was not the least. In executing this programme the United States would be a useful, if not an essential ally. Both the army and navy of Britain would be forced to go to America. Though the interests of Spain were bound up with those of the United States, American ministers were coldly received at the Spanish Court and in Spanish society. This feeling may in part be explained by an observation of Trevelyan, namely, that "Spaniards looked upon the people of New England as a particularly dangerous form of heretics, and disapproved of them as turbulent and disloyal colonists whose rebellion against their rightful master set a very dangerous example to the inhabitants of their own vast, immensely valuable and loosely attached dependencies in the Western Hemisphere."[3]

The storm of indignation that swept New England after the passage of the Quebec Act showed, indeed, that Yankees, like their Roundhead ancestors, were as intolerant as, in English opinion, were the Spaniards themselves. They looked, strangely enough, to the United States for assistance, but did not on that account manifest any excess of generosity. In fact, in this respect, the Spaniards were neither better nor worse than the New Englanders, who in Rhode Island coldly received their French allies and in Boston actually mobbed their officers.[4]

Neither the ministers nor the European subjects of the king of Spain cared much about the rights of American citizens. England was believed to be in a condition of distress and to Spain this extremity marked the hour for avenging former defeats. It appears, too, that there were visions of territory to be wrested from England or gained at the expense of the United States, which Spanish statesmen believed were bounded on the west by the Appalachian Mountains. This belief serves to explain her conquest on the shores of Lake Michigan, where on January 2, 1782, a Spanish force from St. Louis seized the British post of St. Joseph, took a few prisoners and raised the standard of Spain. Moreover, in her convention with France it was stipulated that the whole of Florida; also the town and the bay of Mobile, should be added to the dominions of Spain. Let it be assumed that the

[3] *George Third and Charles Fox*, Vol. i, p. 184.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 127.

motives which impelled that kingdom to declare war were vengeance and greed, forces imperious but ignoble. Yet if any power on the globe had a right to summon England to an audit, that power was Spain. In times of peace English buccaneers had destroyed her towns and year after year had plundered her treasure ships; on her troops English armies had often inflicted defeat; and finally England had interposed in her administration of the Netherlands. If retaliation was ever justified, it was for these repeated injuries.

When at last, April, 1779, Spain had concluded to enter the war, her dilatory tactics prevented the blockading of the British fleet and the annihilation of British commerce. The ships of France alone were not equal to an encounter with the navy of England, but the half-victory of Orvilliers, in the Channel, clearly showed that their combined forces were superior. Instead of improving the opportunity to assist in destroying the fleets of England, Spain had wasted the winter of 1778-1779 in a vain effort to mediate between Great Britain and her colonies. Meanwhile, in a haste that did not divide the day and night, England was strengthening herself for the struggle with the Bourbon powers. The hesitant policy of Spain before she entered the war had not been unobserved. Montmorin, the French minister in Spain, reported, June 20, 1778, that Florida Blanca, minister of foreign affairs, showed "a fresh coolness" toward the conquest of Jamaica and Gibraltar.

As a settlement of the dispute Spain proposed, in October, 1778,

1. That England acknowledge the absolute independence of the colonies.

2. That she retain Canada and Acadia.

3. That she cede to the colonies all the Floridas except what was necessary for the protection of Spanish commerce in the Gulf of Mexico.

France did not desire to see the new republic mistress of the whole continent and, therefore, Vergennes believed that exorbitant claims should not be made against England. The influence of this sentiment doubtless may be perceived in Spain's proposal. The latter feared the encroachments of the United States; but this uneasy feeling was set at rest by French statesmen, who reminded their ally that her situation would be far worse if the

colonies submitted to the mother country, for afterward there would be no resisting their united endeavors. To save the feelings of England and, no doubt, to gain some of his own ends without war the king of Spain suggested, late in 1778, a truce, which from time to time could be renewed. This would give the colonies, which were to be parties to the negotiations, ultimate independence, while the mode of procedure, it was believed, would be less humiliating to England than would be an immediate acknowledgment of independence. As the great object of the colonists was political freedom, Franklin, to whom had been confided the project of a truce, believed that the manner of granting independence was not so important. However, a committee of Congress was of opinion that the idea of a truce should not be entertained, but that during the negotiations a cessation of hostilities "may be admitted in case all the forces of the enemy shall be withdrawn from every post and place within the limits of the United States." On June 15, 1781, Congress almost unanimously agreed to the idea of Franklin, with the proviso that Great Britain was not to be left in possession of any part of the United States. Subsequently it appeared that the proposed truce was to continue twenty-five or thirty years, during which period there would be commercial intercourse between England and her colonies; also freedom of trade between them and other countries. Finally Great Britain was to treat them as independent *in fact*. This proposition of Spain was rejected as was her offer of mediation. Thereupon she withdrew her offer and recalled her minister.

As early as September 15, 1776, Beaumarchais, the brilliant and witty French dramatist, advised Congress, through its Committee of Secret Correspondence, to declare war against Portugal and promptly to send a fleet to "the Brazils." That, he stated, would interest Spain in American success, because, he philosophically added, "the enemies of our enemies are more than half our friends."[5] At that time England demanded of Spain the surrender of American ships in its ports and the prohibition of future intercourse with them. But Spain evaded a

[5] On December 8, 1776 Franklin sent intelligence of the departure of a Spanish fleet carrying 7,000 troops, horse and foot. The expedition was believed to have been sent to attack the Portuguese colony of Brazil. In that case English troops and ships would be diverted for its defence.

compliance and on a later occasion respected the commission of an American naval officer. Still later Silas Deane reported that country as a good place of refuge for a frigate cruising in British waters. Writing March 8, 1777, from Burgos, Arthur Lee informed the Secret Committee of Congress that he had learned from an official of high rank that supplies for the Continental army would be sent from Bilboa by every opportunity. Blankets are mentioned, and there is ascribed to Spain a purpose to make at New Orleans and Havana deposits of ammunition and clothing, with directions "*to lend* them to such American vessels as may call for that purpose." At this time Lee was considering many projects, among them one to secure the services of some able Irish officers in the Spanish army. If any of those veterans could be spared, he was assured that the United States should have them. He was also assured by the government of Spain of having credit from time to time on Holland. Furthermore, it was agreed that American vessels calling at Havana were to receive the same treatment as was accorded those of France, the ally of Spain. In brief, she was willing to promote in every way the liberty of the Colonies, but could not then make an acknowledgment of their independence. It was proposed to despatch a vessel laden with salt, sail-cloth, tent-cloth, cordage, blankets, and similar warlike stores; also an assortment of drugs, In order the more easily to supply articles contraband of war, Spain favored an expedition against Pensacola. The zeal of the house of Gardoqui in American affairs was not unknown to Mr. Lee.

On December 30, 1776, Congress passed the following resolution, which on April 7, 1777, Franklin communicated to Count d'Aranda, Spain's Ambassador to the court of France.

> "That if his Catholic majesty will join with the United States in a war against Great Britain, they will assist in reducing to the possession of Spain the town and harbor of Pensacola; provided the inhabitants of the United States shall have the free navigation of the Mississippi, and the use of the harbor of Pensacola; and will (provided it shall be true that his Portuguese majesty, has insultingly expelled the vessels of these States from his ports, or has confiscated any such vessels) declare war against the said king, if that measure shall be agreeable to, and supported by the courts of France and Spain."

Relative to the value of Spanish assistance suggested in the preceding pages Franklin and Deane wrote, May 25, 1777:

"The latter [Spain] has already remitted to us a large sum of money, as you will see by Mr. Lee's letters, and continues to send cargoes of supplies, of which you have herewith sundry accounts. Many of these transactions are, by some means or other, known in England, which dares not resent them at present, but the opinion of an approaching war gains ground every day."

On September 8, Franklin, Deane, and Lee, writing to the committee of Foreign Affairs, declared that while Spain had not yet consented to receive a minister from the United States, "she has, however, afforded the aids we formerly mentioned, and supplies of various articles have continued till lately to be sent, consigned to Mr. Gerry, much of which we hear has safely arrived." Though Spain had not formally acknowledged, she stood with France in insisting upon American independence. In a letter written August 3, 1777, from his home at Braintree, John Adams stated that it was generaly believed Spain had decided against England though she had not the same motives as France for taking up the defence of the colonies. Reference is made by Arthur Lee to the assembling off Finisterre, July 26, 1779, of a united French and Spanish fleet of fifty vessels, thirty French and twenty Spanish. This armament—commanded by Orvilliers—was attended by a separate Spanish squadron of sixteen ships commanded by Don Córdova and acting as a *corps de réserve*. Don Ulloa was reported cruising off the Canaries with four ships of the line, while six more blockaded the Bay of Gibraltar, where from the land a Spanish army invested the town. As late as August 24 adverse winds had prevented the sailing of the united fleet. The Spanish ambassador quitted London, June 18, 1779, for Paris. The forces of his country were already on the march to join those of France. On the tenth of September, 1779, Congress was considering a joint expedition with Spain against the Floridas; also the guarantee to her of those provinces, provided she could gain them from England by cession or win them in war. In return the United States asked the free navigation of the Mississippi River into and from the sea; also that Spain pay annually to them a named sum during the war and for a certain term of years.

The idea of a subsidy is explained in the instructions to John Jay, who was appointed September 27, 1779, minister plenipotentiary to negotiate with Spain relative to the free navigation

of the lower Mississippi, and the formation of a treaty of alliance and of amity and commerce. These instructions further declare:

> "The distressed state of our finances and the great depreciation of our paper money inclined Congress to hope that his Catholic majesty, if he shall conclude a treaty with these States, will be induced to lend them money. You are therefore to represent to him the great distress of these States on that account, to solicit a loan of $5,000,000 upon the best terms in your power, not exceeding 6 per centum per annum, effectually to enable them to cooperate with the allies against the common enemy; but before you make any propositions to his Catholic majesty for a loan you are to endeavor to obtain a subsidy in consideration of the guarantee aforesaid."

By February, 1780, the Spanish government had concluded that Jay might be informally received. In the course of the following month there were put on board the transports at Cadiz 6,600 troops. Two squadrons commanded by D. Solano and D. Tomasco, in all thirteen warships, the first provisioned for five months, the second for four and one-half were to accompany them. The organizations destined for this expedition were filled up with soldiers from the regiment of Hibernia. Florida Blanca, minister of foreign affairs, could not communicate with Jay so confidentially as he wished to do because of his lack of knowledge of the English language. The subsequent diplomatic history of the United States shows that the hint was ignored. Spain, he explained, at much expense supported in the ports of France thirty-five ships of the line and frigates; she had sold supplies for half price; she had money in America, but could not then avail herself of it. Late in 1780 or at the beginning of the next year he would be able, however, to advance to the United States "twenty-five, thirty, or forty thousand pounds sterling; and in the meantime, should these bills be presented for payment, he would take such measures as would satisfy the owners of them." The navigation of the lower Mississippi, for a long time insisted upon by the United States, appears to have been the chief obstacle to the formation of a treaty with Spain. That country, says Jay, is in "darkness about us . . . they scarcely believe that the Roman Catholic religion was even tolerated there." That is, in the Colonies. To him Spaniards appeared "to like the English, hate the French, and to have prejudices against Americans." In this rapid survey of Spain's fluctuating

policies during the Revolution one clearly perceives on the part of her statesmen a singular lack of foresight in managing their foreign affairs, an indecision that was fatal, and everywhere unmistakable evidences of national poverty. For these reasons she suffered to pass without improving a rare opportunity to impair the power of England. In the circumstances she could have turned her brave and enterprising neighbors into friends, but instead of pursuing so wise a policy she adopted a conduct so variable as to efface from the minds of Americans any sense of gratitude for the considerable assistance which in reality she had given. Among Spaniards there is a clear tradition that they contributed toward American independence. The nature of this service has in part been indicated, but what was of far greater value to the United States than these European courtesies was the achievement of Spanish officials in America.

In a communication of John Jay occurs this interesting paragraph: "The family of Galvez is numerous and of weight. The one on the Mississippi has written favorably of the Americans to his brothers here, three of whom are in office. It would be well to cultivate this disposition whenever opportunities of doing if offer." An uncle of the Louisiana Colonel was president of the Council of the Indies, perhaps, after the king himself, the highest official in Spain; his father was viceroy of Mexico.

It has been stated that on April 12, 1779, France and Spain had formed a secret convention, which was in fact a treaty of alliance for the joint conduct of a war against England. In due time the New World received tidings of this important event. Of special interest was this news to Don Bernardo de Galvez, whose work, as will appear, was the most striking of Spain's successes in the American phase of her war with England. So important, indeed, was it that it was a cause of alarm to Congress, for it tended to make of the Mexican Gulf a Spanish lake, long a cherished object of Spanish sovereigns.

Though the armies of Great Britain occupied important posts such as New York and Charleston, one by one the colonies had slipped from her grasp. Of them all she retained in 1779 only Canada and the Floridas. Of the latter region Peter Chester was governor, while Gen. Campbell, with headquarters in Pensacola, commanded the troops of the province. Of these the military head had not a very high opinion. The seven companies

of veterans forming his sixteenth regiment, he stated in a letter to Sir Henry Clinton, had been almost worn out in the service, yet they were his only reliable soldiers; the sixtieth was made up of Germans, chiefly Waldeckers, of condemned criminals, and "other species of gaol-birds." Still more unfit General Campbell deemed the provincial troops. Lieut. Col. Dickson, who had 500 men on the Mississippi, so pressed Campbell for reinforcements that the grenadiers from Waldeck and other troops were sent to his assistance. In addition to the units described there were at Mobile under Capt. Durnford, Pennsylvania and Maryland Loyalists. There was likewise a horde of Indians attracted doubtless by the offer of three pounds sterling for every hostile scalp. So well employed by the squadrons mentioned was the navy of England that the necessary transports could not be spared to convey from New York a fine regiment of American Tories. The essential conditions of disaster were assembled, and there was at hand a soldier of sufficient penetration to perceive the weak joint in his enemy's armor.

On the first of February, 1777, Col. Galvez, but twenty-one years old, entered on the duties of his office as acting Governor of Louisiana. Without delay he reported to his sovereign the nature of the fortifications of Mobile and Pensacola. As yet Spain had not declared war against England. Her colonists, however, from the beginning of the American struggle for freedom gave both sympathy and support to the people of the United States. From the moment that Galvez assumed office, Oliver Pollock began regularly to send to the United States supplies from New Orleans. Though Galvez was restrained from acts of war by the Spanish Court, he assisted the Americans with money to the extent of $72,000 so that they could maintain their hold in Kentucky. In the year 1777 one Oliver Pollock, a representative of Congress, and a patriot destined to promote in no small degree the interests of his adopted country, began to collect military supplies and to arrange for their shipment to Fort Pitt. Before indicating the nature of his services it may be well briefly to sketch the activity of his companion, James Willing, a Captain in the Continental army, and properly described as an adventurer of gentlemanly appearance but brutal instincts.[6] The latter

[6] HENRY E. CHAMBERS, *West Florida and Its Relation to the Historical Cartography of the United States*, p. 21.

went amongst the British settlers in Louisiana urging them to enter upon a course of rebellion. In homes at Baton Rouge, Natchez, and other points he was hospitably entertained. His hosts did not dream that he was even then planning their destruction. Nor was any suspicion aroused by his subsequent departure for Pennsylvania. There his representations persuaded Congress, then in session at Lancaster, that the neutrality of West Florida was of the first importance to the American cause, for it would not only remove an enemy from the rear but permit on the Mississippi the free passage of munitions. From Congress he appears easily to have obtained authority to confirm the neutrality of the inhabitants.

Returning to Natchez in the course of the following year, Willing and his armed followers, partly recruited in New Orleans, prevailed upon many to take an oath of neutrality. Then upon one pretence or another he began a career of burning, confiscation, and cruelty. Those homes in which he had formerly been favored are said to have suffered most. Many of the plundered and houseless people fled across the Mississippi, where they found a refuge among strangers. But for Willing's wanton, cruel, and unprovoked conduct toward a helpless community, West Florida might have been won over to the American cause. Around the ruined homes of Natchez there was destitution and despair. To the conduct of Willing, Galvez had a two-fold objection. In the first place, the adventurer's sinister activity had been directed against peaceful neutrals whose sympathy for the American cause was known. This would have displeased the Spaniard, who, as will appear, was a brave and chivalrous soldier. Then, too, Willing had taken Fort Manchac, an act which interfered with the ultimate object of Galvez himself. If the brutal American caused Galvez anxiety, the presence in New Orleans of two French commissioners did not diminish his uneasiness, because the thought of a possible attempt of France to force a recession of Louisiana was clearly indicated in the correspondence between them and their home government. With characteristic energy and statesmanship Galvez immediately began to popularize Spanish rule. Local trade was freed from former restraints, commerce was assisted, and emigration from Spain was encouraged. But books likely to influence the colonists against that country were not received.

The presence in New Orleans of Oliver Pollock has been noticed. But in addition there were other American merchants, from Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, industriously engaged in obtaining military supplies, especially ammunition, which by way of the Mississippi and the Ohio they shipped to Fort Pitt, whence boats were regularly sent to New Orleans for additional consignments. In this traffic the people of Louisiana cheerfully participated because of their sympathy for the Americans. Moreover, from the outset officials because of the attitude of Spain were encouraged to assist. This friendship of Spanish-Americans led to some correspondence between Galvez and Col. George Morgan, stationed at Fort Pitt. In this exchange of opinion was suggested a joint attack upon the British forts in Florida. But Galvez, who had marked that province for his own, did not favor the appearance within his territory of an American army. In June, 1779, Spain declared war against Great Britain. This act suggested to Englishmen the necessity of reducing the Spanish posts in the Mississippi Valley. This would both cut off the abundant military supplies which flowed from New Orleans and completely flank their rebellious subjects. Gen. Haldimand, commanding in Canada, had been ordered to execute the plan. Ultimately its conduct devolved upon Lieut. Gov. Sinclair, of Michilimackinac, and Gen. Campbell, who was stationed at Pensacola. The former ordered a party of Sioux to descend the river to Natchez, while other bands were directed "to amuse Col. Clarke at the falls of the Ohio" and prevent his interference with the British conquest of St. Louis and the other Spanish posts in the Valley. To carry out his part of the programme Gen. Campbell was expected to take a fleet and an army up the Mississippi, capture New Orleans, and at Natchez effect a junction with Sinclair's Indians. The latter force was formidable and doubtless would have proved too strong for even Clark's redoubtable fighters if an unexpected blow had not been struck at these well-laid British plans. From intercepted letters Galvez had learned the details of the British plan as early as had Sinclair himself. Favoring an attack on the British posts on the Mississippi, Galvez submitted his plans to a council of war, which declined to approve them; a second effort to gain its consent met the same fate. The council favored only defensive measures. We have seen that war had been declared by Spain in June,

1779. So zealously had Galvez labored that by August following he had many boats in readiness. But these, with houses, cattle, and crops, which were destroyed, were battered to pieces by a hurricane that swept the Valley. Only one frigate escaped destruction. The young commander wasted not an hour in railing at fate, but at once began to assemble another fleet.

Fortune, whose frowns Col. Galvez had known, soon revealed to him a countenance less harsh. Hitherto he had not been governor of Louisiana, but was merely serving *ad interim*. At this time his commission had been received, but for reasons of his own he did not then make known his appointment. His officers scoured the country for boats that had escaped the hurricane; several of his sunken ships were raised and converted into gunboats. When his preparations were well advanced, he called a public meeting, read to the assembled people his commission, and informed them of the impending British attack. He declared that he could not accept the high office to which he had been appointed unless he felt assured of their support. His appeal, made at the moment when their patriotism was aroused, met with an enthusiastic response and amid their cheering and shouts of loyalty he took the oath of office. Notwithstanding the hurricane, by August 27 the ardent commander had ready for duty 670 men, of whom 170 were regular soldiers. After setting out he was joined by 160 Indians and 600 volunteers from the parishes. Thus, Col. Galvez, eager to strike, found himself at the head of nearly 1,500 men, one of whom was the American merchant, Oliver Pollock, the energetic collector and shipper of supplies to the Colonies. The little army captured without opposition a small garrison at Manchac and at once pushed on to Baton Rouge. At this stage Galvez received some reinforcements under Grandpré, who himself had won some minor engagements. Baton Rouge was guarded by a wall and moat and defended by 500 troops, mostly regulars. So skillfully did Galvez bestow his batteries that after a brisk bombardment Lieut. Col. Dickson was forced to surrender. His bravery secured for him the honors of war. This capitulation comprised also that of Fort Panmure at Natchez. Meanwhile the Spanish fleet had captured in adjacent waters eight small British vessels. Despite his brilliant success Galvez found himself greatly embarrassed. In the three forts that had fallen he took 560 prisoners, many

militia and negroes. Not having enough men to guard his captives, he was compelled at once to dismiss many. Moreover, after leaving garrisons at the forts, he had but fifty regulars for the defence of New Orleans and the control of the great number of paroled prisoners who roamed its streets. Attracted by the news of war numbers of Indians, too, entered the city or pitched their tents without. By October, however, reinforcements arrived from Havana. Galvez and Gonzales, his second in command, were promoted to the rank of brigadier general, the subaltern and the soldiers were praised, while their conquest was celebrated in verse.

On the programme of Gen. Galvez, Mobile came next, but he had no thought of making an immediate attack. The winter of 1779-1780 he spent in New Orleans perfecting his preparations. Tidings of the fall of the British forts on the Mississippi were received in Mobile in October, 1779. When this intelligence reached Gen. Campbell at Pensacola, he refused to trust the tale. It was merely a ruse to draw him from his post. The details brought a few weeks later by a second courier found him still incredulous.

Mobile, garrisoned by engineers, foot, artillery, Pennsylvania and Maryland Tories, volunteers from the town, and a score of artificers, was commanded by Capt. Durnford, a brave and efficient officer. On February 5, 1780, Gen. Galvez with a fleet carrying 2,000 soldiers made up of regulars, militia and some companies of free negroes sailed for Mobile. The winds, which in the past have always watched the navies of Spain, were again aroused. Several of the General's ships were stranded and much of his provisions and ammunition damaged by a squall. But despite the elements he had won success on the Mississippi. He was prepared for a new trial with fate and again he was rewarded by success. After taking an armed provision ship, he finally made a landing. As at Baton Rouge, Galvez carefully located his batteries and began a heavy cannonade. On March 1 he sent to Capt. Durnford a polite note in French requesting a surrender of the Fort. In answer he received a soldierly and complimentary response. The British commander offered to permit the departure of those who were afraid to support him, but no one cared to take advantage of his offer, and amidst cheers they resumed the defence. At last a breach had been made in

their walls and on March 14 the garrison surrendered on the same terms as had been granted to Lieut. Col. Dickson. Hunger greatly hastened the fall of Mobile. With reinforcements amounting to 522 men Gen. Campbell was marching to its relief. Arriving too late, he was forced to retrace through the swamps around the Gulf his difficult way back to Pensacola.

Galvez used Mobile as a base of operations against Pensacola, but, as was his custom, deliberately prepared for his final campaign. A year was spent in organizing his forces. In the meantime General Campbell was fully aroused. His activity was first shown by sending, January 3, 1781, an expedition against the Spaniards who occupied entrenchments at the French village below the point where the Tensaw flows into Mobile Bay. His force, consisting of infantrymen, cavalry, a party of 300 Indians, and sixty Waldeckers, commanded by Capt. Von Hanxleden, several times assaulted the entrenchments of the Spaniards, but were finally driven off. A German witness notices the courage and the chivalry of the Spaniards, "who duly honored the bravery of the fallen."[7] In this engagement both sides suffered severely.

While Campbell was making the best disposition of his small army of regulars, volunteers, and Indians, Galvez was importuning Havana for reinforcements and was answered by promises. To make sure of assistance he went thither himself and raised a considerable force which was completely disabled by a storm. He then organized a still stronger expedition, which he brought off the harbor of Pensacola. His naval allies feared to pass the forts, whereupon he shamed them into an effort by running in a small schooner past the batteries, recklessly exposing himself to their fire. He laid siege to Pensacola in March, 1781, and after experiences similar to those that marked his Mobile campaign forced the brave but unenterprising General Campbell to capitulate in the following May. With a considerable army General Galvez now retained for King Charles the two Floridas.

The fame of Galvez's first campaign extended far up the Mississippi, and it is believed to have driven from St. Louis a band of 1,500 Indians and 140 Englishmen commanded by Wabasha, a Sioux chief, who besieged the post on May 26, 1780. Col. George Rogers Clark, who had entered the Illinois country in 1778, was

[7] For an account of the Mobile campaign see VON ELKING, *Die Deutschen Hülfstruppen in nordamerikanischen Befreiungskriege* [passim].

within easy call of St. Louis. The sudden appearance and the equally abrupt disappearance of Chief Wabasha is understood when we remember that his undertaking was but one part of a large plan. Its execution had been interrupted by the genius of Galvez, who drove the British out of the Mississippi Valley. Furthermore, the Illinois country, practically abandoned by Congress, was saved from invasion, and the States were guaranteed against attack on their western frontier. In concluding his careful treatment of this subject, Phelps says: "Such, in brief, was the highly important part which the Spaniards of Louisiana played in the American Revolution. Galvez's successes made it possible for the new country to hold its territory intact from Canada to Florida, and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. Had the English expedition succeeded, Great Britain could have set up a claim to this territory when the western boundary was fixed several years later at the declaration of peace. In view of their actual development, it is impossible to predict what would have been the future of the United States without access to the Mississippi Valley, and two foreign nations upon their western border to confine them between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic."[8]

The English had likewise been expelled from Campeachy. But they yielded nothing without a struggle. In 1780 they made an attack upon San Juan, a Spanish stronghold on the coast of Nicaragua. Writing of this expedition Horace Walpole says that it had been "so totally destroyed by climate that not a single man is left alive. The officers to the number of twenty-five are all dead, too. My pen revolts at such horrors." Though the case was not quite so bad as the English statesman believed, it was bad enough, for, by the end of September, 1780, out of 1,400 men all but 320 had died and half the survivors had been at death's door. The British had reduced the fort to ruins, but were compelled by an unhealthy climate to withdraw with the losses stated. In Europe, Minorca was promptly captured by a Spanish expedition, but Gibraltar, though hard pressed, escaped a similar fate.

Primarily, Spain was intent on her own welfare, but, for the moment, her interests were bound up with those of England's colonies. Both in Europe and America she gave employment to

[8] *Louisiana* (American Commonwealths), p. 148.

the ships and the soldiers of Great Britain, while her colonists in the New World as well as her subjects at home furnished large quantities of military supplies. Those who desire to know more exactly the extent of this service may learn from the papers of Oliver Pollock, which have enjoyed a protracted repose in the Library of Congress.

CHARLES H. MCCARTHY.

NOTE.—Owing to stress of space in the present issue, the continuation of the RIGHT REVEREND BISHOP CORRIGAN'S article on the *Episcopal Succession in the United States* is held over to the next number.

MISCELLANY

NOTES ON SOME CONVERT RELATIVES OF THE PRESIDENTS

(Contributed by SCANNELL O'NEILL, ESQ.)

It will doubtless occasion interest among the many readers of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW to learn that, of the twenty-seven Presidents of the United States and their wives, eighteen are represented by members of their families among the more noted converts to the Catholic faith. There are doubtless many whose names are unknown to us, but the following list contains those we have been able to discover in a research which has lasted some years:

THE WASHINGTONS.

In the year 1650 (or 1656, according to some authorities) John and Andrew Washington left England to settle in Virginia. Their brother, James, the same year, settled in Rotterdam, Holland, and became the ancestor of all the continental Washingtons. Of James Washington's descendants, the German and Austrian branches are Catholic and still bear the original family name.[1] The first of the Washingtons to become a Catholic was Jacob, the great-grandson of James Washington. This Jacob was born in Rotterdam, in 1778, and died in Bavaria, in 1848. After settling in Bavaria, he entered the army, in which he rose by successive stages to the post of Lieutenant-General. He married a noble lady and was himself created a Baron by the King of Bavaria, who regarded him as the founder of the Bavarian Army. All of his descendants in Germany and Austria today are Catholic, including his grandson, Baron Peter George Washington, commandant of dragoons in the Imperial Austrian Army operating against the Russians. As Baron Peter is childless, he is the last of the direct branch of the German Catholic Washingtons. The following collateral relatives of George Washington are numbered among converts to the Church in this country:

MRS. S. M. B. WHITE (grand-niece), who died in Evansville, Ind., in 1875.

MISS EUGENIA WASHINGTON (great-great-grand-niece), born in 1839; died in Washington under most distressing circumstances, in 1899. Miss Washington was the daughter of William Temple Washington, a son of George Steptoe Washington (the favorite nephew of General Washington) and his wife, Lucy Payne Washington, sister of Dolly Madison. Miss Washington's great-great-grandfather, Samuel Wash-

[1] **Authorities:** *Autobiography of Baron Jacob Washington*, Munich, 1840; *Almanach de Gotha*; *Genealogies of the Washington Family*. New York, 1880; GUIDO BRUNO, *A History of the Dutch-German Branch of the Washington Family*, in *Year Book* of the *German-American Historical Society* of Illinois, 1912; *Yale Alumni Records, Class of 1841*. New Haven, 1892; Letters to Scannell O'Neill from Miss Lucy B. Lewis, of Marmion, from Mr. Lawrence Washington, of the Library of Congress, and from Mr. Richard Blackburn Washington.

ington, was a son of Augustine and Mary Ball Washington, parents of our first President. She was one of the founders of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

RICHARD BLACKBURN WASHINGTON, Richmond, Virginia, who became a Catholic in 1912.[2]

THE LEWIS FAMILY of Marmion, Osso, Va., are the Catholic great-great-grandchildren of Colonel Fielding Lewis and his wife, Betty Washington, only sister of General Washington. They owe their faith to their mother, Mary Imogen Green Fielding, the wife of Fielding Lewis (1808–1878), whose father and mother, John and Rebecca (Forrest) Green, became converts to the Church. Mrs. Fielding Lewis brought all her family up Catholics. Miss Lucy B. Lewis, the only unmarried daughter, now makes her home at Marmion. She sold the Copley painting of her great-great-grandmother, Betty Washington Lewis, last year to the authorities at Mt. Vernon.[3]

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[2] Richard Blackburn Washington's descent is as follows:

Augustine Washington *m.* (2) Mary Ball.

- John Augustine
  - Corbin
    - John Augustine
      - John Augustine (last owner of Mt. Vernon)
        - George (last Washington born at Mt. Vernon)
          - Richard Blackburn Washington
- George Washington

[3] Descent of the Catholic branch of the Lewises of *Marmion:*

Col. Fielding Lewis (1726–1781) *m.* Betty Washington, sister of George Washington

- George
  - Daingerfield
  - Mary *m.* Col. Byrd Lewis
    - Catherine, *m.* Prince Napoleon Achille Murat
  - Fielding (1808–1878) *m.* Mary Imogen Green (a Catholic)
    - Lucy
    - Anne
    - Zola
    - Mary

    (All four are Catholics)
- Lawrence, *m.* Eleanor Parke Custis, granddaughter of Martha Washington, and adopted daughter of General George Washington

Mrs. Elizabeth Frances Nash Cecil, a well-known writer of the last century and a devout convert, was named for two of her famous ancestresses, Elizabeth Washington and Frances Madison. She was the author of *Industrial Heroes*, *A History of Popular Suffrage*, *Literary Salons*, etc. She married an English convert, the late Ernest Walpole Cecil, of the Duke of Rutland's family.

John Nicholson Washington (cousin) was born in 1819, and died in 1869. Mr. Washington was a graduate of Yale in 1841, and Mayor of New Berne, N. C. Two of his daughters became Ursuline nuns—Sallie Vail Washington, known in religion as Mother Anne, who died in 1885, and Mother Mary Juliana, who is still living in the convent in Arcadia, Mo. Dr. James R. Washington, an eminent physician of St. Louis, and a brother of John N. Washington, was received into the Church on his deathbed some time about 1870.

Mrs. Alice Wallach, Hyattsville, Maryland, daughter of Dr. Warwick Evans (1828–1915), is through her mother, the later Mary Mason Washington Evans, a direct descendant of John, half-brother of General Washington.

Mrs. Elizabeth Paschal O'Connor, the authoress and playwright, wife of the Hon. Thomas Power O'Connor, the Irish leader, is descended in direct line from Anne Pope, General Washington's grandmother. Her son, by a former marriage, is Francis Howard, the painter, of London.

Mother Mary Appolonia Digges, a nun of the Visitation Convent, Georgetown, D. C., whose cure from consumption, when at the point of death, is one of the remarkable occurrences in American Church annals, was a near relative of our first President. She was professed at Georgetown in 1816.

Mrs. John Wheeler Fairfax, of New Orleans, is another of the Catholic descendants of the Washington family who, though not converts, have an interest for us. Her mother, Anastasia Raynal Washington, was the daughter of John Stith Washington, who married a French Catholic lady, Miss Raynal. Mrs. Fairfax traces back in direct line to Lawrence Washington.

Finally, we may here refer to a curious reference which appears in Migne's *Dictionnaire des Conversions* (Paris, 1852), a copy of which we consulted many years ago in the library of Creighton University, Omaha, Neb. In this book mention is made of a Mr. Washington, set down, curiously enough, as a "grandson" of General Washington. This man, we are informed, espoused the cause of the Greeks, for whom he fought, and in 1826 was received into the Church in Paris. The only Washington, as far as we have been able to find, who fought for the Greeks was Peter Grayson Washington, a great-nephew of Lund Washington, manager of General Washington's Virginia campaigns, and whose exact relationship to the Father of his country it is not easy to determine.

JOHN AND JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

The late MONSIGNOR HIRAM FRANCIS FAIRBANKS (1845–1915), Rector of St. Patrick's Church, Milwaukee, was a descendant of Henry Adams, the ancestor of John Adams.

The late GENERAL THOMAS KILBY SMITH, father of Mr. William George Smith, was also a descendant of Henry Adams.

MISS MARY QUINCY, an eminent Boston convert of the last century, was a direct descendant of Edmund Quincy (1602–1635) the great-great-great-grandfather of John Quincy Adams.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FRANCIS GILDART RUFFIN, JR., Richmond, Va., son of Col. F. G. Ruffin, great-great-great-grandson of Thomas Jefferson. All the children of F. G. Ruffin, Jr., are Catholics.

MONSIGNOR HIRAM FRANCIS FAIRBANKS (1845–1915), Rector of St. Patrick's Church, Milwaukee, was a descendant of John Coolidge, ancestor of the Coolidge branch of the descendants of Thomas Jefferson.

DR. WILLIAM JEFFERSON GUERNSEY, Frankford, Pa., is through his mother, born a Jefferson, a descendant of the same family as that of Thomas Jefferson.

JAMES AND DOLLY MADISON.

MISS MARGARET HITE, of Virginia, known in religion as Sister Mary Theonella, a Visitation Sister at Georgetown, D. C., and

WILLIAM D. WILLIS, of Washington, cousins of President Madison.

COL. JAMES MADISON CUTTS (1805–1863), the son of Dr. Richard Cutts (1771–1845), for six successive terms Member of Congress from Maine, by his wife, Anna Payne Cutts, great-granddaughter of Mrs. John Payne, aunt of Patrick Henry. Mrs. Richard Cutts was the youngest and favorite sister of Dolly Madison, and during the last years of Jefferson's rule, with Mrs. Madison, presided over the White House, from which latter place she was married during the administration of her brother-in-law, President Madison. Col. Cutts was the father of Adèle Cutts,[4] who married as widow of Stephen A. Douglas, Gen. Robert Williams, U. S. A. Col. Cutt's aunt, Lucy Payne Washington, was the wife of George Steptoe Washington, nephew of General George Washington.

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[4] Mrs. Adèle Cutts Williams edited the *Memoirs and Letters of Dolly Madison*, which contain many interesting letters written by Dolly Madison to her sister, Mrs. Cutts.

JAMES MONROE.

HENRY LEE HEISKELL (died in Washington, 1914), the son of Dr. Henry and Elizabeth Gouverneur Heiskell, granddaughter of President Monroe.

MISS MARY MONROE, great-granddaughter of President Monroe. Miss Monroe, who lives in Tacoma, Wash., was received into the Church several years ago.

MRS. RINGGOLD, wife of General Ringgold, U. S. A., niece of President Monroe.

COL. JAMES MONROE and his brother, FATHER ANDREW MONROE, S.J., sons of Andrew, a brother of President Monroe.[5]

ANDREW JACKSON.

MRS. MARY DONELSON WILCOX, wife of James A. Wilcox, Member of Congress from Mississippi; daughter of Andrew Jackson Donelson (1800–1871), nephew of President Jackson, who was Minister to Prussia and candidate for the Vice-Presidency with Millard Fillmore on the Know-Nothing ticket in 1856. Mrs. Wilcox was born in the White House, of which she was mistress during a part of her grand-uncle's administration. Mrs. Wilcox's family followed her into the Church; her daughter, Miss Mary R. Wilcox, of Washington, is Recording Secretary-General of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

The late MRS. MARY JACKSON MORROGH, wife of Dr. Morrogh, of New Brunswick, N. J., was a cousin of President Jackson.

MARTIN VAN BUREN.

The late MADAME ELIZABETH VAN NESS VAN BUREN TEN BROECK, of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, was a cousin of President Van Buren.

JOHN TYLER.

MRS. JULIA GARDINER TYLER (1820–1889), widow of President John Tyler.

PEARL TYLER, daughter of the above, and wife of William Munford Ellis, and her daughter.

MARTHA JEFFERSON TYLER WAGGAMAN (1782–1855), the wife of Theodore E. Waggaman, Washington (who was also a convert), was a daughter of Governor John Tyler, of Virginia, and a sister of the President.

MISS SARA WAGGAMAN (1818–1905), daughter of the above—in religion, Sister Mary Regis, of the Sisters of the Visitation, Georgetown, D. C. Miss Waggaman was for some years the mistress of the White House.

MISS MOLLY ELLIOTT SEWELL, the novelist, a grand-niece of President Tyler.

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[5] The late Dr. Richard Henry Clarke was authority for the statement that a daughter of President Monroe became a nun in France. (This is a mistake, as the President's daughters married and raised families.)

JAMES K. POLK.

Several near relatives of President Polk, the descendants of his ancestor, Robert Polk, are numbered among our American converts, including:

THE BARONESS MARY DE CHARETTE, of Paris, was the daughter of Col. A. J. Polk, of Nashville, Tenn., the son of Bishop Leonidas Polk, General of the Confederate Army.

MISS POLK, sister of the above.

MRS. SOPHRONIA POLK HORNSBY, St. Louis, the daughter of the Hon. Trusten Polk (1811–1876), Governor of, and United States Senator from, Missouri, and Judge Advocate-General of the Confederate States.

MRS. FLORENCE CONN STITH, wife of Taylor Stith, St. Louis, granddaughter of the Hon. Trusten Polk.

MRS. ESTHER WINDER POLK LOWE, wife of Gov. Enoch Lowe, a daughter of Col. James Polk, and cousin of President Polk.

ZACHARY TAYLOR.

MRS. ANNIE KING BARRET, widow of Mayor Albert Buckner Barret (a convert), of St. Louis—is descended from the historic Thompson and Taylor families, which have given five Presidents to the Uhited States—Madison, Taylor, the two Harrisons, and Tyler.

MRS. LAWRENCE JONES, daughter of Col. James Taylor; COL. CLAY TAYLOR, and TAYLOR STITH, St. Louis, are cousins of President Taylor.

JAMES BUCHANAN.

MISS FRANCES BUCHANAN, the actress, the niece of President Buchanan.

PRESIDENT AND MRS. LINCOLN.

The late JOSEPH R. LINCOLN, Carthage, Ill., was a cousin.

SISTER MARY GENEVIEVE TODD, of the Sisters of Providence, Terre Haute, Ind., the daughter of Mrs. Lincoln's cousin, who also with his family became a Catholic.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

MRS. B. M. SAFFORD, of Washington and Hot Springs, N. C., widow of Andrew Johnson, son of President Johnson, daughter of Col. J. H. Rumbough, of Hot Springs, N. C.

ULYSSES S. GRANT.

Capt. Algernon Sartoris, son of Nelly Grant Sartoris; grandson of Gen. Grant.

Mrs. Rosemary Sartoris Woolston, daughter of Nelly Grant Sartoris; granddaughter of Gen. Grant.

Judge Dent, brother of Mrs. U. S. Grant.

Miss Dora Grant, cousin of the General.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

Lawrence J. Kip, San Francisco, grandson of Bishop William Ingraham Kip, first Anglican Bishop of California. His mother was a first cousin of President Cleveland.

R. Bacon, Tiffin, Ohio, a cousin of President Cleveland.

WILLIAM McKINLEY.

Capt. Arthur S. McKinley, U. S. A., who became a Catholic in 1900, was a first cousin of President McKinley.

PRESIDENT AND MRS. THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mrs. Gertrude Elizabeth Tyler Carow, of New York and Rome, the mother of Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt.

Mother Eliza Anne Bayley Seton.

Archbishop James Roosevelt Bayley, Archbishop of Baltimore, cousin of Theodore Roosevelt.

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT.

Mrs. Julia Walbridge Smith Taft, wife of Henry Watters Taft, Esq., New York, a sister-in-law of President Taft.

Miss Caroline Taft (1811–1851), Cincinnati, a native of Vermont; in religion Sister Mary Sebastia, of the Sisters of Charity, Bardstown, Ky., cousin of Taft. Her father and his family also became Catholics.

PRESIDENT AND MRS. WILSON.

The late William Galt, Washington; brother of Norman Galt, first husband of Mrs. Woodrow Wilson.

DOCUMENTS

ON THE ELECTION OF THE FIRST BISHOP OF NEW YORK[1]

The City of New York is now the largest civic municipality in the world; while the metropolitan See of which it is the seat, and which bears its name, is one of the foremost Dioceses of the Catholic Church. Possibly, indeed, it is second to none in the number of its practical Catholics. Its Catholicity is of the staunchest kind. For these reasons, as well as on account of its wealth, its high standing, and the civic influence of its members, its history is necessarily of great interest to Catholic historians and readers generally, since it forms no small part of the history of the Church in the United States. Growing, as it has, in so short a period from the insignificant position it occupied in our American Church, when its first Catholic house of prayer was built (1786), to its present colossal magnitude, the foundation stones on which it is reared are of immense historical value. They possess in an eminent degree that special interest which lingers around all successful beginnings. The three documents published here are such cornerstones. They throw a new light, not only on the story of the foundation of the Diocese of New York, but also on the life and virtues of the eminent divine who was appointed the first bishop of the great American metropolis. Although Dr. Concanen never reached New York, on account of the tyranny of Napoleon Bonaparte, his name will ever be intimately and inseparably connected with the name of that Diocese—his history with its history. These documents are now placed for the first time before the general reader. For, although they were published in the *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, January, 1900 (Vol. iv, pp. 442–445), this is a private publication intended for the use of the members of the Dominican Order, and does not come under general observation. It is the first time they have been put in English dress. Thus they will place much interesting, valuable, and instructive history at the disposal both of those versed in the language of the Church and of those who know only the English Tongue.

I

The Brief "Apostolatus Officium," Appointing Rev. Richard L. Concanen, O.P., First Bishop of New York

(*Copy*)

The original of this Brief is probably in the Roman Chancellery. The copy published below is in the Archives of Propaganda (*Scritture rifferite nei Congressi. Dal Canada all' Ismo di Panama, dal* 1791 *a tutto il* 1817, Vol. iii, fol. 306–307). It bears no signature; and the number of "etc." it contains, shows that it does not give the entire document. The omissions, however, as in all such copies,

[1] These documents form as it were the *pièces justificatives* of Father O'Daniel's articles on Bishop Concanen (V. CHR, Vol. i, pp. 400–142; Vol. ii, pp. 19-47), and are printed in this issue for the convenience of our readers.

do not touch the substance of the document; but are merely of those ornamental clauses, which vary somewhat under different Popes, and which are inserted in all papal letters solely to round them out and to give them tone. This copy of the *Apostolatus Officium*, therefore, because made by the Propaganda itself and preserved in its Archives for ready reference, has all the historical value of the source from which it was taken. Because of their great number, the Briefs and Bulls of episcopal and archiepiscopal appointments are not, ordinarily at least, published in the general *Bullaria*. For this reason, the Brief making Bishop Carroll an Archbishop and those appointing Fathers Cheverus, Concanen, Egan and Flaget Bishops respectively of Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Bardstown, have found no place in any *Bullaria* yet published. The end of the present document *Apostolatus Officium*, where a number of omissions are indicated by "etc.," might, with a very few slight verbal changes, be filled out to its original state from the Brief *Ex Debito Pastoralis Officii* erecting the Sees of Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Bardstown. (*Bullarii Romani Continuatio*, Vol. xi, pp. 1062–1063. Prato, 1850.) The *Apostolatus Officium* is published, with a few typographical errors, in the Dominican *Analecta*, ut supra, pp. 442–43.

Dilecto filio Richardo Lucae Concanen Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum electo Neo-Eboracensi. Pius PP. VII

Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem

Dilecte fili. Apostolatus officium, meritis licet imparibus, Nobis ex alto commissum etc. gubernare. Quum itaque ob rationes et causas in aliis Apostolicis Nostris in simili forma Brevis hodie expeditis Litteris satis expressas,[2] Neo Eboraci, quae in Americae provinciis foederatis consistit, unam erexerimus Episcopalem Sedem cum suae dioecesis districtu, et cum subjectione quoad metropoliticum jus Ecclesiae Baltimorensi in Archiepiscopalem et Metropolitanam per Nos constitutae, prout iisdem in Litteris, quarum etc., uberius continetur; quumque de praeficiendo ejusmodi Sedi personam utilem ac fructuosam cum ven. fratribus Nostris S. Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalibus Congregationi de Propaganda Fide praepositis deliberationem habuerimus diligentem, statim ad Te, qui de legitimo matrimonio procreatus, et Ordine Fratrum Praedicatorum expresse professus, et in sacro presbyteratus ordine ac aetate canonica es constitutus, et de cujus vitae munditia, morum honestate, prudentia, doctrina ac praesertim Catholicae Fidei zelo luculenta apud Nos perhibentur testimonia, direximus oculos mentis Nostrae, Teque propterea a quibusvis etc.

[2] The words *hodie expeditis Litteris* do not mean here letters *despatched* or *forwarded* this day, but letters *written* or *prepared* this day. All the documents written at this time regarding the American Church were placed in the hands of the Bishop-elect of New York that he might bring them with him to Archbishop Carroll. Dr. Concanen was still in Rome, and all American ships in Italian ports had been sequestered by the French government. But these same words, *in aliis Apostolicis Nostris in simili forma Brevis hodie expeditis Litteris*, show conclusively that the Propaganda copy of the *Apostolatus Officium* appointing Father Concanen Bishop of New York is misdated. It is dated September 8, 1808. But the other Briefs to which it refers, and which it expressly says were prepared on the same day, bear the date, in all *Bullaria*, of April 8, 1808. This, then, must also be the correct date of our present document. For the correct date of the *Pontificii Muneris* raising Baltimore to the rank of an Archbishopric, and the *Ex Debito Pastoralis Officii* erecting Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Bardstown, Ky., into episcopal Sees (the two Briefs referred to in this document) see *Bullarii Romani Continuatio*, Vol. xi, pp. 1062–1063. Some Propaganda copies of the *Pontificii Muneris* and the *Ex Debito Pastoralis Officii* have them also incorrectly dated September 8, for April 8, 1808.

censentes, eamdem Neo Eboraci Sedem Episcopalem de persona tua Nobis ac memoratis Cardinalibus ob tuorum exigentiam meritorum accepta, de ipsorum fratrum consilio, auctoritate Apostolica tenore praesentium providemus, illique Te praeficimus in episcopum et pastorem; curam, regimen et administrationem Tibi ejusdem Sedis Neo-Eboracensis plenarie committendo; facultatemque etiam, cujus vigore consecrationis munus a quocumque Catholico antistite gratiam et communionem Sedis Apostolicae habente, accitis et in hoc sibi assistentibus duobus aliis episcopis, vel si commode reperiri nequiverint, duobus eorum loco presbetyris secularibus vel regularibus eamdem gratiam et communionem habientibus, praestito tamen prius per Te in ejus manibus juxta pontificale Romanum juramento solito, Tu suscipere, ille vero nonnisi postquam a Te hujusmodi juramentum acceperit, idem munus Tibi impendere, respective possitis et valeatis adjicimus atque attribuimus. Jugum igitur Domini, quod, eo inspirante, Tibi Nos hodie imponimus, prompta suscipe devotione et Neo Eboraci Ecclesiam, quam Tibi Ipsi tradimus administrandam, eo studio guberna ut iste grex Christi, qui animam suam pro ovibus posuit, se pastori provido et administratori fructuoso commissum esse laetetur. Quapropter in civitate Neo-Eboracensi unam ecclesiam ad formam Cathedralis quam citius poteris erigi facito, et prout temporum rerumque permiserit ratio, aliquem Tibi clerum divino cultui Ecclesiaeque ejusdem servitio addictum instuito, nec non dioecesanum clericorum seminarium vel eadem in civitate vel alibi, ubi satius expedire censueris, erigito in ecclesiasticis proventibus; magis quae Dei, quam quae tui sunt, quaerito, curamque in illis diligentem adhibito, demum praeter ea quae in praedictis litteris ut a Neo Eboraci episcopis fieri possent indulsimus ac disposuimus, Tu quaecumque alia, quia incremento Catholicae Fidei, utilitati gregis et ecclesiae cultui ac decori profutura in Domino duxeris, libere agito: salva tamen semper in praemissis S. Sedis Nostrae et Congregationis praedictae auctoritate. Hinc his, quae desuper tuo commendavimus zelo illud nunc addimus ac expresse Tibi mandamus ut ejusdem Congregationis jussis obedientiam praestes, relationem visitationis Ecclesiae tuae tempore debito ad eam transmittas, eamque de omnibus diligenter reddas instructam, quae gregis Tibi commissi et Catholicae istarum partium religionis interesse posse cognoveris. Decernentes easdem praesentes Litteras firmas etc. obtinere ac tibi plenissime suffragari, et ab omnibus inviolabiliter observari, sicque etc. judicari etc. attentari. Non obstantibus Apostolicis etc. constitutionibus et ordinibus caeterisque etiam speciali ac expressa mentione seu derogatione dignis, contrariis quibuscumque etc. Datum apud S. Mariam Majorem 8 septembris [aprilis] 1808 Pontificatus Nostri anno nono.

(Translation)

To Our Beloved Son, Richard Luke Concanen of the Order of Preachers and Bishop-elect of New York, Pius VII

Health and Apostolic Benediction

Beloved Son:

The Apostolic Office, in spite of Our unworthiness, has been entrusted to Us from on high, etc., to rule. Since, therefore, for reasons and causes sufficiently expressed in Our other Letters Apostolic prepared this day, also in the form of a Brief, we have

erected an Episcopal See in New York, United States of America, with its diocesan territory, and subject, in regard to metropolitan rights, to the Church of Baltimore which We have raised to the rank of an Archiepiscopal and Metropolitan See, as is more fully declared in the same Letters, in which (*quarum* etc.); and since, when We held an earnest consultation with Our venerable brothers, the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church in charge of the Sacred Congregation de Propagande Fide, to select a zealous and efficient person to appoint to the said Diocese of New York, We at once turned our eyes upon you, who, born in lawful wedlock, are duly professed in the Order of Friars Preacher, ordained priest and of canonical age,—and of whose purity of life, integrity of morals, prudence, learning and especially zeal for the Catholic Faith We have abundant and splendid evidence: wherefore, with the counsel of Our brothers, the aforesaid cardinals, to whom as to Ourself, you are acceptable because of your shining merits, first absolving you from all censures, etc., We provide for the See of New York, and by Apostolic authority and these Letters patent appoint you its Bishop and Pastor and give you full charge, government and administration of that Diocese. Furthermore, We authorize and empower your Lordship to receive Episcopal consecration from any Catholic Bishop in favor and communion with the Apostolic See, assisted by two other bishops, or, if these cannot be conveniently had, by two priests, either secular or regular, in their stead, provided they are in the same favor and communion,—you having first taken before him the usual oath contained in the Roman Pontifical; for he can perform that sacred function for you only after he has received said oath from you. Accept, then, with prompt obedience the yoke of the Lord which, under His inspiration, We impose upon you to-day, and so govern the Diocese of New York, which We have entrusted to your charge, that this flock of Christ (who gave His life for His sheep) may rejoice to have been committed to a faithful pastor and wise administrator. You will, therefore, erect a Cathedral Church in the city of New York, as soon as you can; associate with yourself, as time and circumstances permit, a body of clergy for divine worship and the service of said Church; build with the ecclesiastical revenues a diocesan seminary for the education of clerics, either in the same city or elsewhere, as your Lordship may deem it most expedient; seek rather the things of God than your own, and keep a diligent care over them. Finally, besides those things which by Our permission and indulgence as per aforesaid letters, may be done by the Bishops of New York, your Lordship may freely do whatever else you may judge in the Lord will aid the increase of the Catholic Faith, the good of the fold, or the religious worship and decorum of the Church—always, however, with the understanding that the authority of the Holy See and of the said Sacred Congregation in the above matters shall remain intact. Hence to those things which We have already commended to your zeal, We now add this: We expressly command that your Lordship obey the decrees of the same Congregation, that you send it in due time an account of a visitation of your Diocese, and that you diligently keep it informed on all that you know to be for the good of the flock entrusted to your charge and for that of the Catholic religion in those parts. We decree that these Our Letters shall ever remain in force, etc., obtain, and uphold your Lordship's authority in the fullest sense; that they shall be held inviolable by all; and that they must be adjudged etc. as such; [that, should they] be attacked, [all such attempts shall be null and void]. Notwithstanding the Apostolical etc. [i. e., and other] constitutions and decrees, as all things else whatsoever to the contrary, even if they deserve special and express mention or derogation. Given at Rome at Saint Mary Major, the eight day of September [April], 1808, in the ninth year of Our Pontificate.

II

Letter of Propaganda to Archbishop Carroll, May 24, 1808

(Copy)

This document is a letter of Propaganda to the proto-Bishop and Archbishop of the United States, the original of which the writer did not succeed in discovering in the Archives of Propaganda, although he searched carefully for it. Perhaps, however, these efforts might have been crowned with success if he had had more time at his disposal. It is no easy matter to find documents in those Archives; much time, labor and perseverance are required. The letter sent to Dr. Carroll does not seem to have reached its destination. The copy published here is in *America Centrale*, Vol. iii, fol. 306–307. The copy itself does not bear the name of the addressee; neither is it signed. But it is prefaced by a note in Italian, which gives the date of the original and tells us to whom it was written. Should, indeed, the original no longer exist, the value of this copy is thereby enhanced. It was made by Propaganda itself, and is preserved in its Archives for its own use. As it certainly gives the full substance of the original, it has practically the same historical authenticity. The three Dioceses, besides that of New York, which were established at this time (April 8, 1808) were those of Boston, Philadelphia and Bardstown, Ky.; while the Ordinaries appointed over them were Bishops Cheverus, Egan and Flaget. On the same occasion Baltimore was made an Archiepiscopal See and Bishop Carroll raised to the dignity of metropolitan. This document shows very clearly the reason of Father Concanen's appointment to the diocese of New York. It also shows the great esteem in which that distinguished ecclesiastic and the venerable metropolitan of Baltimore were held at Rome, and the confidence that was reposed in both of them by the rulers of the Church. It confirms the testimony found in more than one of Doctor Concanen's letters of the reputation for zeal and wisdom that Archbishop Carroll enjoyed at the center of Christendom. This high regard the Archbishop, in spite of the contrary assertion one reads here and there, seems to have retained until his death. There is only one instance where a clergyman was proposed by him for a bishopric and did not receive the appointment. This was the case of the Rev. John B. David, who was recommended by him for the Diocese of Philadelphia. But David's appointment was prevented by his own expostulation, coupled with the earnest protest of Bishop Flaget, who was in dire need of his services at the Seminary of Kentucky. For the English translation of this document the reader is referred to the article: *Concanen's Election to the See of New York*, pages 22-23, of this number of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW. It is published in the original Italian and Latin in the Dominican *Analecta, ut supra* (Vol. iv, p. 443).

"Quando nel 1808 fu inalzata la chiesa di Baltimora alla dignità metropolitica, e le furone fatti quattro nuovi vescovi suffraganei, cosi scrisse la Sacra Congregazione a quel nuovo Arcivescovo sotto il di 24 maggio, 1808: Quantum pietati, ac prudentiae Amplitudinis Tuae fidat, deferatque Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Papa Pius VII, et Sacra haec Congregatio de Propaganda Fide effectus ipse demonstrat, rerumque mox gestarum series, quam Apostolica scripta, seu Brevia his literis adnexa

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abundius Tibi declarabunt. Videbis siquidem Tuis votis, precibusque novas quatuor Sedes in istis Foederatis Provinciis, ac dioeceses constitutas, auctum Te metropolitico jure, ac dignitate, electosque in antistites novarum ecclesiarum tres ecclesiasticos viros illos, quos in Tuis literis summis laudibus commendasti. Quia vero Ecclesiae Neo-Eboracensi neminem, quem praeponeremus, commendasti, virum elegit Santissimus Dominus Noster, quem longa experientia, et opinio ipsa totius Urbis tantae dignitatis dignissimum probat, quemque Tu ipse carissimum Tibi tam frequenti argumento probasti, Richardum nempe Lucam Concanen Sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum professorem, ac theologum Casanatensem."

III

Letters Patent [of the Most Rev. Pius J. Gaddi], May 10, 1808, to Bishop Concanen Appointing him Vicar General of the Dominican Order over all the New World[1]

(Archives of the Dominican Master General, *Regesta Magistri Generalis Rmi Josephi Gaddi, Codex IV*, 260, p. 5)

This last paper is truly an extraordinary document. Not only is it opposed to the ordinary *modus operandi* common to all religious Orders, but it almost does violence to the very spirit of their rules. Indeed, these letters patent of

[1] Immediately preceding these letters patent in the Archives of the Father General—and on the same folio—is found this note of Father Gaddi testifying that he had received papal authorization to confer such singular powers on the first Bishop of New York:

Die 10 maii, 1808.—Quum die 8 maii, 1808, Reverendissimus Magister Ordinis, supplex factus Sanctissimo Domino Pius Pio VII, vivae vocis oraculum habuerit ad delegandam omnem suam Ordinariam et Apostolicam potestatem Reverendissimo et Illustrissimo P. Fr. Ricardo Lucae Concanen Episcopo Neo-Eboracensi pro universae Americae Fratribus praesentibus futurisque, Sororibus, Tertiariis, Confraternitatibus, etc., volueritque Sanctissimus Dominus ut annis singulis de actis per hanc commissionem idem D. Episcopus notitiam Magistro Ordinis exhibeat, idem Reverendissimus hac die 10 maii patentibus suis Literis juxta formam adjunctam instituit dictum Episcopum sui et Successorum Vicarium, etiam pro Provinciis et Congregationibus Hispano nunc et Lusitano dominio subjectis, si harum tamen Praesides et Fratres impediantur communicare cum legitimo Supremo Moderatore, vel si res moram non patiatur; commisit etiam plenam liberamque potestatem pro Insulis Antillis et Lucaiis, cum quibus nulla ab immemorabili fuit nobiscum communicatio: Praeceptumque fuit, Apostolica auctoritate, omnibus curae Magistri Ordinis subjectis aut subjiciendis, ut ipsimet Episcopo in praefatis locorum spatiis obediant tanquam Vicario Supremi Moderatoris, idque vita et episcopatu ejusdem durantibus, quod ex speciali factum est Apostolica facultate.

(*Translation*)

May the tenth, 1808.—On the eighth day of May, 1808, the Most Rev. Master General of the Order, prostrate at the feet of His Holiness, Pius VII., obtained oral permission (*vivae vocis oraculum habuerit ad*) to delegate all his authority, both ordinary and extraordinary, to the Right Rev. Richard Luke Concanen, Bishop of New York, over the Brethren, present and future, Sisters, Tertiaries, Confraternities, etc., in all America. But the Holy Father wished that the said Bishop should send the General of the Order each year an account of all his acts done in virtue of this commission. Accordingly, the same most Rev. Father General, on this tenth day of May, by his Letters patent, in accordance with the copy here annexed, instituted the aforesaid Bishop his Vicar and that of his successors, even over those Provinces and Congregations that are in places now subject to the Spanish and Portuguese dominions; provided, however, the Superiors and Brethren of those Provinces and Congregations are unable to communicate with the Order's lawful Supreme Head, or if the matter does not admit of delay. Furthermore, the General bestowed upon his Vicar full and unrestricted powers over the Antilles and Bahama Islands with which he has had no communication for time out of mind. All persons who are now subject, or who in time to come will be subject, to the jurisdiction of the Father General were commanded, in virtue of Apostolic authority, to obey the Bishop during his lifetime and episcopacy as the Vicar of the Supreme Head of the Order;—all which has been done by special powers delegated by the Holy See."

Father Gaddi to Bishop Concanen, as far as the writer has been able to ascertain, have not (in the broad powers conferred, in the extent of territory covered, etc.) a parallel in the 700 years of Dominican history. Two things led to this singular action of Father Gaddi. The one was the gloomy political horizon of Europe at the time, and the depressing state of uncertainty then prevailing at Rome in regard to the future of religion. The other was Bishop Concanen's proved zeal, wisdom and prudence. On February 2, 1808, Napoleon Bonaparte's sincerity in the faith he professed was manifested by the entrance of one of his armies into Rome, and his love for the Head of the Church to which he belonged attested by their planting their cannon in the *Piazza de'Quattro Cavalli* and training them on the palace of the Quirinal, then the residence of the Popes. Many of the Cardinals were at once sent into exile, Pius VII was made a virtual prisoner, and his communication with the Christian world severed. All manner of evils were imminent; nor could it be foreseen how soon they might come. The lot of his predecessor—exile and imprisonment—loomed up ominously before the Sovereign Pontiff. The Fathers General of the religious Orders were threatened with similar misfortunes. It was in these straits that Father Gaddi, to safeguard the welfare of his Order in the New World, turned his eyes upon Dr. Concanen, whose years as one of the Assistants to successive Generals had not only imbued him with its spirit, both apostolic and contemplative, but had given him a thorough knowledge of the character of its government, and whose sterling worth and good judgment singled him out as one specially fitted for a position at once so important and so delicate. But now that Concanen was a Bishop and no longer under the Order's jurisdiction, the General could neither licitly nor validly delegate his former Assistant any power over the members or the affairs of the Order. For this special papal authorization was required. To obtain such authorization Father Gaddi obtained a private audience with Pius VII. The Pope's fears were for the worst. This, coupled with his anxiety for the good of religion, his intimate knowledge of Concanen's worth and zeal, and the close relations that existed between the two great men—we may readily believe—disposed the sad Pontiff readily to grant even so singular a request in favor of his esteemed friend. As no one could enter or leave the Quirinal without being searched by the hostile invaders, the permission sought was granted Father Gaddi orally (*vivae vocis oraculo*) rather than in writing, that thus it might not come to the knowledge of the enemy. These letters patent to Bishop Concanen were one of Father Gaddi's last official acts. Early in August he was notified by the French authorities that he must quit Rome within forty-eight hours. At two o'clock on Sunday morning, the thirteenth day of the same month, he and the Fathers General of the Theatines, the Barnabites and the Clerks Minor, after they had assisted at Mass celebrated by special permission shortly after midnight in his (Gaddi's) private chapel, left the Eternal City under military escort for the Alpine frontiers. Gaddi was then taken on to Auxerre, France, whence he was not permitted to return to Rome until after the downfall of Bonaparte in the spring of 1814.

Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo in Christo Patri Domino Fr. Ricardo Lucae Concanen Ordinis Praedicatorum, S. Theologiae Doctori, Proto-Episcopo Neo-Eboracensi in Foederatis Americae Provinciis, Fr. Pius Joseph Gaddi, S. Theologiae Professor ac dicti Ordinis humilis Magister Generalis, et servus, salutem et apostolicae messis abundantiam.

Cooperantem Nobiscum hactenus in Dominicani Gregis custodia, Sociumque laboris, et participem tribulationum, quae invenerunt, Nos nimis quem Scotiae etiam Provincialis titulo auctum prudente zelo flagrantem novimus in Ordinis dilatione, et Provinciae Nostrae Sancti Joseph in praememoratis Americae Provinciis erectione promovenda, nunc vero a SS. Domino Nostro Pio Papa VII., imo ab ipso Spiritu Sancto positum novam regere Ecclesiam, quam sibi Christus Dominus acquisivit in locis praedictis, jure confidimus abundantiori in eundem Ordinem, dictamque Sancti Patriarchae Joseph Provinciam dilectione et solicitudine donandum in utilitatem Ecclesiae, et sacri dicti Ordinis decorem, quem Sanctissimus Pater Noster Dominicus constituit et plantavit in Episcoporum praesertim subsidium et gratiam. Rogamus propterea, et quasi paterno veteri affectu hortamur Te Illustrissimum et Reverendissimum Dominum Fr. Ricardum Lucam Neo-Eboracensem Episcopum praesalutatum, ut in Dioecesi Tua Neo-Eboracensi aliisque finitimis, in insulis quoque Antillis et Lucalis dictis, imo in universo novo Orbe, Vicariam assumens potestatem Nostram, quam tuae Amplitudini plene committimus tenore praesentium, habito prius verbo cum SS. D. N. Pio VII., ejusdemque favente Beneplacito, circa Fratres, Sorores, et utriusque sexus personas Tertii Ordinis, nec non circa Provincias, Conventus, Monasteria, Collegiaque erecta aut erigenda, atque circa receptiones et professiones praedictorum, Clericorumque nostrorum Ordinationes, et ad Confessiones Praedicationemque approbationes, tum circa Confraternitates SS. Nominis Dei, Sacratissimi Rosarii B. M. V., et Militiae Angelicae, sive Cinguli S. Thomae Aquinatis, et quoad Scholasticos gradus et honores, praesertim vero in iis, quae moram non patiuntur, et occurrente casu, quo Provinciarum et Congregationum nostrarum in America Septentrionali, Meridionali, et Orientali, insulisque adjunctis, Praelati et Fratres communicationem legitimam cum Generali Moderatore habere non valeant, ea omnia praestes et exequaris, quae Nos ipsi, auctoritate Ordinaria vel Apostolica, etiam peculiari rescripto Nobis benigne commissa, agere et praestare possumus, quaeque, sicuti ex praehabito Socii Nostri munere didicisti, ageremus, si praesentes in locis praejudicatis essemus, tam jubendo, corrigendo, visitando, puniendo quam dispensando, instituendo, confirmando, absolvendo, delegando; quorum tamen actorum annis singulis a Te notitiam habeamus oportet. Praecipimus autem Nostra et Sanctae Sedis potestate Nobis, et supra commissa, in virtute Spiritus Sancti et Sanctae Obedientiae, sub formali praecepto, omnibus et singulis curae Nostrae in praedictis locorum spatiis utcumque subjectis, aut subjiciendis, ut Tibi, tanquam Nobis, debitam in omnibus reverentiam et obedientiam praestent, et quamdiu Episcopatum et vitam Tibi Deus dederit quam longevam felicemque precamur, Te Vicarium Moderatoris Ordinis habeant et agnoscant. In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus. In quorum fidem his majori sigillo munitis manu propria subscripsimus.—Romae apud Sanctam Mariam super Minervam, die 10 mali MDCCCVIII.—Fr. Josephus Gaddi Magister Ordinis Apostolicus ad Praemissa Delegatus.—Fr. Pius Antonius Molineri Mag. Prior Provincialis Daciae et Socius.

(*Translation*)

To the Right Rev. Father in Christ, Richard Luke Concanen of the Order of Preachers, Doctor in Sacred Theology and first Bishop of New York, United States of America, Father Pius Joseph Gaddi, Professor of Sacred Theology, Master General and humble servant of the same Order, health and a fruitful harvest of souls.

As a cooperator with Us until now in governing the Order of Saint Dominic, a companion in labor, a sharer in the tribulations that have come upon Us, and honored with the title of Provincial of Scotland, We have had striking proofs that your Lordship is aflame with prudent zeal for the spread of the Order and for fostering the growth of Our Province of Saint Joseph in the aforesaid United States of America. Now, therefore, that you have been chosen by His Holiness, Pius VII., nay, by the Holy Ghost Himself, to govern a Diocese which Christ Our Lord has gathered unto Himself in those parts, We confidently trust your Lordship will be endowed with a still more abounding love and solicitude for the same Order and the said Province of the Holy Patriarch, Saint Joseph; for the good of the Church and the honor of the Order which Our Holy Father, Saint Dominic, founded and built up in an especial manner to aid and subserve Bishops. We ask, therefore; nay, We beseech you, Right Rev. Bishop Concanen, in virtue as it were of Our long paternal affection, to accept in your Diocese of New York and in the other neighboring Bishoprics, as also in the Antilles and Bahama Islands,—indeed, in the whole New World, the position of Our Vicar which We bestow upon your Lordship with all its powers by these Letters patent. Having first had an audience with His Holiness, Pius VII., and obtained his kindly consent thereto, We confer upon your Lordship (for the aforesaid places) vicarious powers over all Our Brethren, Sisters, and persons belonging to the Third Order;[1] over all Provinces, Convents, Monasteries and Colleges, whether already erected or to be established in the future; in regard to the reception and profession of persons in the Order, the ordination of Our clerics, and their approval for hearing confessions and preaching; as also in regard to the Confraternities of the Most Holy Name of God, the Most Holy Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Angelic Warfare or the Girdle of Saint Thomas of Aquin, and in regard to conferring scholastic degrees and honors. In those matters especially which will not admit of delay, and in cases where the Superiors and Brethren of Our Provinces in North, South and Eastern America, and adjacent Islands, are unable to hold lawful communication with the Order's Master General, your Lordship is prayed to enact and execute whatsoever We Ourself can enact and execute by Our authority, whether ordinary or extraordinary, even by that bestowed upon Us by special rescript, and which you know from your former position as Our assistant We should do, were We present in the aforesaid places. To this end your Lordship may not only resort to commands, corrections, visits and punishments, but also grant dispensations, appoint, confirm or remove Superiors, and delegate your authority. It is necessary, however, that We receive each year on account of all such acts done by your Lordship. Furthermore, in virtue of Our authority and that, as has

[1] At the time of the writing of this document the Father General had far more authority than he has today over the Dominican Sisterhoods and what is known as the Third Order of St. Dominic composed of people of both sexes living in the world. Now, in fact, he has no authority over them, apart from being able to insist on certain conditions as necessary for the affiliation of these two great branches of the Order with the main stem. Two things also occur here in which the Latin tongue is at variance with our prevalent English usage. Convents (Conventus), as used in this document, signify houses for religious men, while Monasteries (Monasteria) designate houses of like character for religious women or Sisters. The word Colleges (Collegia) includes both *studia*, or houses of study for students of the Dominican Order, and educational institutions generally conducted by its members.

been said, given Us by the Holy See, We command in the name of the Holy Ghost, under holy obedience and formal precept each and every one now in any way subject, or who will hereafter be subject, to Our jurisdiction in the above mentioned countries to show your Lordship in all things that reverence and obedience which are due Us; to hold and acknowledge you as the Vicar of the Order's General as long as God grants you Episcopal dignity and life, which We pray may be long and happy. In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen. All things to the contrary notwithstanding. In testimony of which We sign with Our own hand these Letters patent secured by Our major seal. Given at Rome in the Convent of Saint Mary of the Minerva, on the tenth day of May, 1808.—Father Joseph Gaddi, Master General of the Order and Delegate Apostolic for the above matters.—Father Pius Anthony Molineri, Master in Sacred Theology, Prior Provincial of Dacia[1] and Assistant."

[1] Four of the assistants to the Dominican Father General ordinarily have the honor of titular privincial for the four extinct provinces of Scotland, Greece, the Holy Land and Dacia. Father Concanen had this title for Scotland, and Father Molineri, whose name appears at the end of this document, for ancient Dacia.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Monroe Doctrine in Its Relation to the Republic of Haiti. By William A. MacCorkle, LL.D. The Neale Publishing Company, New York, 1915. Pp. 104.

The author, a former Governor of West Virginia, disclaims any intention of offering the public a philosophical treatise. In fact, his preface informs the reader that the substance of his little volume was included in an address delivered before the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Though his theme is old, yet is it ever new. He does not fully accept the opinion, often expressed, that the germ of the Monroe Doctrine is to be found in Washington's *Farewell Address*. By the first President, he says, that part of our foreign policy "was enunciated as a foundation proposition of our government." Indeed, the idea was clearly in the mind of Alexander Hamilton while the Constitution was still before the States for their adoption. No. XI of the *Federalist* urged neutrality and the establishment of a strong national government. "By a steady adherence to the Union," says Hamilton, "we may hope, ere long, to become the arbiter of Europe in America; and to be able to incline the balance of European competitions in this part of the world, as our interest may dictate." The creation of a powerful marine and the establishment of a Federal navy would be indispensable to the maintenance of neutrality, for, added that great statesman, "The rights of neutrality will only be respected, when they are defended by an adequate power. A nation, despicable by its weakness, forfeits even the privilege of being neutral." In conclusion Hamilton thus exhorted his fellow-citizens: "Let the Thirteen States, bound together in a strict and indissoluble Union, concur in erecting one great American system, superior to the control of all trans-Atlantic force or influence, and able to dictate the terms of the connection between the Old and the New World!"

The author makes it clear that, while the Monroe Doctrine has never been enacted by Congress or deemed a part of international law, yet it is "an essential part of the structure of our national life." Viewed as Hamilton saw it, the Monroe Doctrine is nothing less than the right of self-defense, an elementary part of international law. This would have been made still more

plain to his readers if the author had only noticed the announcement, January 3, 1811, of President Madison, who urged Congress, when Great Britain was threatening to take possession of the two Floridas, to declare that the United States could not, without serious inquietude, "see any part of a neighboring territory, such as Florida, in which we had deep concern, pass from the hands of Spain into those of any other foreign power."

A map showing Haiti, located on and commanding the highways of commerce, suggests the importance to the United States of the independence of that little republic. Looking into the future, the author sees the immense importance of the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, and declares that of those waters the United States should have control exclusive and absolute. The construction of the inter-oceanic canal, he says, makes this imperative. The twin seas and the lands and islands that fringe them are a part of the Canal Zone. Treaty rights respecting the canal, says Governor MacCorkle, cannot be observed by the United States unless her power is dominant in the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico. This control should not be seized, indeed, but honorably gained by means of treaties.

Haiti, in its present condition, is held to be a menace to the peace and safety of the United States. In the author's opinion its status should be changed. He briefly relates the prosperity, the luxury, and culture of the Haitians under French occupation, their speedy decline after the French abandoned the country, and their subsequent sad and often tragic history. The present government, which mocks the forms of freedom, appears to be no more than a monstrous machine for plundering, oppressing, and terrorizing that wretched people.

Hitherto the Monroe Doctrine has stayed the hands of European powers, but it has done nothing to restore the land to the prosperity and grandeur which it enjoyed under French rule. The city structures, planned by Parisian architects, are everywhere in masses of ruins, wild weeds and trees spring from palace walls, parks once beautiful are overgrown with the rank vegetation of the tropics, fountains are choked with débris, and gutters overflow with filth. Though the charge has been repeatedly and vehemently denied, the testimony points unmistakably to the somewhat general practice in the republic of serpent worship

or voodooism and even of cannibalism. The author believes that within the limits of the two seas no people should be permitted to remain an international nuisance. The passive attitude of America, he says, is illogical. He denies that the morals and the religion of the people have been colored ill in order to justify interference in their affairs, though Froude and Ober, the authorities followed, are not too careful when they speak of creeds.

This brief study also notices the lack of respect for obligations in some republics in the western hemisphere and in that connection the author mentions the attempted enforcement of the payment by Venezuela of her public debt. Had it not been for the influence of the United States, still attentive to the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine, Germany, Great Britain, and Italy might not have dealt so leniently with the offending republic of South America. The Magdalena Bay incident is also cited.

The danger to the Monroe Doctrine from European interference, Governor MacCorkle seems fully to understand. Certain powers of the Old World have colonists in the New, especially in South America. Between these settlers and the states in which they live nothing would be easier than to arrange a collision. Then would arise the apparent, perhaps the actual, necessity for intervention.

Mr. MacCorkle has no expectation of amendment in the case of Haiti. Its people, he believes, cannot of themselves improve conditions in that republic. On the other hand, he believes that the United States will not continue to tolerate a condition of chronic anarchy in Haiti. The author would not have the principle of the Monroe Doctrine enforced by the United States in connection with South American governments, for their colonists come from different countries of Europe and in them the Latin American states have been accustomed to do their borrowing. Through the long future, then, our favored republic must make its way alone. This little book is worthy of careful consideration.

A History of Travel in America. By Seymour Dunbar. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. Four volumes. Pp. 1529.

These entertaining volumes tell of "the development of travel and transportation from the crude methods of the canoe and the

dog-sled to the highly organized railway systems of the present, together with a narrative of the human experiences and changing social conditions that accompanied this economic conquest of the continent." The history of the United States has been so much a story of the opening up and development of roadways, that the present work is almost a social history of the United States. The text is accompanied by 400 illustrations of instruments of transportation and things relating to travel. The illustrations, together with their legends, form a connected history of travel which may be enjoyed independently of the text.

It will soothe the nerves of the speed-mad traveler of today who begrudges the four days that he must spend in crossing the continent, to read the story of the rapid transit of eighty years ago, when from four to six days were consumed in the journey from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh over the combined railroad and canal route, and when practically the same time was required in going from Boston to New York by stage coach. Those were, of course, not the normal rates of travel for that day, since canals and railroads and even good wagon roads were the exception rather than the rule. A traveler from Albany to Rochester, N. Y., who made the trip in seven nights and six days, has left an account of the conditions of travel as he found them in 1824. "For a few miles in the vicinity of Palatine Church," he writes, "there was a gravelly road over which the driver could raise a trot, but this was a luxury experienced in but few localities, and those far between. Passengers walked to ease the coach every day and each night. Although they did not literally carry rails on their shoulders to pry the coach out of the ruts, they were frequently called upon to use rails for that purpose." But even this method of travel was luxury as compared with the first century and a half of white settlement in this country, when practically the only methods of travel were by foot, or on horseback, or in canoes. The first recorded stage coach line began operations at Burlington, N. J., in 1732, but as late as 1797 the road from Philadelphia to Baltimore could be described as follows: "Chasms to the depth of 6, 8 or 10 feet occur at numerous intervals. A stage coach which left Philadelphia on the fifth of February, 1796, took five days to go to Baltimore. The weather for the first four days was good. The roads are in fearful condition. Coaches are over-

turned, passengers killed, and horses destroyed by the overwork put upon them."

The early story is briefly sketched, and the author confines his attention mainly to the period falling between the years 1788 and 1869, and centers his narrative around five principal events or movements. These are:

The governmental organization of the Ohio country and the Northwest Territory, and the beginning of a general migration to those regions in 1787–1789;

A general public recognition of the value of steam as a means of propulsion, in 1807–1809;

The beginning of the railway building period, in 1828–1829;

Discovery of gold in the West, and the general rush across the plains, in 1848–1849; and the

Completion of the first transcontinental railway, in 1869.

The Boycott in American Trade Unions. By Leo Wolman, Ph.D. Pp. 148. Johns Hopkins Press, 1916.

As the author observes in the opening sentence of his book, the enactment of the sections in the Clayton Anti-Trust Bill pertaining to labor unions, injunctions, and contempt of court, and the final affirmation of judgment by the United States Supreme Court against the Danbury hatters, should renew interest in the position of the trade union boycott. In six chapters, he discusses the boycott's nature, history, subject matter, mechanism, and legal aspects. While the term originally denoted social ostracism, it is most frequently used now to describe economic pressure, especially as exerted by the members of labor unions. Mr. Wolman does not tell his readers how the word, "boycott," came to be applied to these forms of ostracism, that it was the name of an Irish land agent who was made the victim of the process in such a spectacular and effective way, that his rather unusual patronymic was readily seized upon to characterize the many similar performances of the Land League days in the eighties, and was thence imported into America. It would seem that the author might well have set forth this bit of information without laying himself open to the charge of inflicting too much erudition upon the public.

In its most general meaning the boycott denotes merely a concerted withdrawal of intercourse or patronage; hence the author is well advised in his contention that the element of coercion is not indispensable. Most of the current definitions offend against both facts and logic by including this element. While it is probable that the majority of boycotts have actually been characterized by a greater or less amount of what might justly be denominated coercion, many of them have avoided this feature entirely; and neither the aim nor the structure of the process requires coercion as an essential factor. The author's definition of the labor boycott, as distinguished from the strike, the blacklist, and other forms of combinations to withdraw intercourse, seems to be unexceptionable: The efforts of a labor combination to restrict the markets of employers in the purchase and sale of economic goods. This eliminates the unessential features of coercion, and intimidation or persuasion of third parties.

In the sense of concerted withdrawal of intercourse, the boycott was, as the author points out, exemplified in the ancient Roman "ignis et aquae interdictio," the ecclesiastical excommunication and interdict, the habitual attitude of the Jews toward the Samaritans, and vice versa, the action of the revolutionary Bostonians with regard to British tea, and innumerable manifestations of racial, political, and religious ostracism throughout history. From all such performances the labor boycott is distinguished chiefly by the fact that it represents the efforts of a particular organization to curtail the industrial and commercial patronage of a particular economic functionary; namely, an employer and dealer in goods. Obviously, the difference is of subject matter and persons, not of essence or principle. The author shows that the boycott has been used in industrial disputes, as a rule, only when the labor union has not been sufficiently powerful and inclusive to be effective. In such cases the boycott has frequently proved itself of great supplementary value to the incomplete organization. While there is a recorded instance of a labor boycott in New York as early as 1809, the weapon attained its greatest degree of prevalence and success previous to 1892, under the direction of the Knights of Labor, and between that date and 1902, in the hands of the American Federation of Labor.

The organization of the American Anti-Boycott Association in the last named year, and the successful prosecution of the Danbury hatters under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, have considerably checked the practice during the last ten years. However, the legalization of the primary boycott, and probably of the milder forms of the secondary boycott, in section 20 of the Clayton Anti-Trust Act, will have the effect, not only of removing the legal disability, but ultimately of strengthening the position of the device in public opinion. Despite the author's rather refined argument to the contrary, the primary boycott must be adjudged by disinterested thinkers, as in no essential feature ethically different from the strike. Had the courts always been able to perceive this resemblance, the legal standing of the boycott would not have so nearly reached chaos.

Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. x. British Series, Vol. i—The Critical Period (1763–1765). Edited with Introduction and Notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter: The Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, Ill., 1915. Pp. 597.

This volume includes much useful and instructive material concerning the early history of the great State of Illinois. In the light of events both earlier and later than 1763, perhaps the most curious of the documents given is the anonymous Edinburgh pamphlet of that year, relative to the proposed colony of *Charlotina*. At the outset should be noticed the modesty of its unknown author, who doubtless went down to his resting-place, unhonored and unsung. This loyal subject of King George III has long since mouldered into dust. His remains would not now be disturbed, were it not that on an interesting phase of American history his ideas, though baseless, are almost universally cherished. Not, indeed, by those enthroned in universities, but by nearly all besides.

First he fears that the French in Canada will emigrate to Louisiana. However, the Protestants among them may remain, and, even others, like the Dutch of New Netherland, may continue in Canada and melt into the Anglo-American population around them. By penal laws, not unknown in Britain, those desiring to go to Louisiana should, in his judgment, be prevented.

Though the anonymous author was 4,000 miles from the disturbances that marked Pontiac's Conspiracy, he tells us "French Jesuits and Priests" were concerned, and, he adds, "This hath been their usual practice even in times of profound peace." The author was not certain that these disturbers were acting by the authority of the French nation. In fact, he is in doubt whether to believe that their conduct proceeded from their innate wickedness, or was suggested by noted persons at their "faithless Court."

The author is convinced that the French were successful in winning the affections of the natives, but this success he ascribes to their more "civil usage." Other influences named are religious and matrimonial ties. But among all the elements of French policy, the chief ingredient was cunning. Through the generations and the years, the artful Frenchman continued successfully to deceive the guileless red man.

The patriotic author hesitates whether to give his vote in favor of withholding from the natives firearms and ammunition, or to extirpate them. To both policies he sees objections. Speaking of the latter alternative, he says: "That of *extirpation*, however agreeable and common to the cruel *Spaniards*, is a method by which, it is hoped, the humane generous Britons will never chuse to extend their dominions." On this hope, a word hereafter. Returning to the subject of Indian attachment to the French, he says one reason is that many natives are proselyted to the Catholic faith by the "indefatigable diligence of their Priests." As there is a somewhat modern sound in the following paragraph, it is quoted in full:

> "The impious freedoms, indeed, gross absurties (*sic*) and blasphemous prostitution of the most sacred truths, whereby the *French* endeavor to engage them to their interest, and work up their indignation against us, are shocking, and altogether unworthy the Christian name. Besides their common maxim, of keeping no faith or promises made to those differing from them in religion, they are at great pains to make these Natives believe the most absurd stories and falsehoods, the very naming of which would be disagreeable to Christian ears: Such as—that our Saviour was a Frenchman, and the English those that crucified him, &c. By these, and other scandalous abuses, which scarcely any other Nation on earth would dare to attempt, instead of teaching them Divine Truth, they debauch and deprave them; make them still more faithless, treacherous and cruel; extinguish any notions of morality that the light of Nature

furnishes; and, in short, render them seven-fold more the children of the Devil than before."

Venerated shade of Nathaniel Ward! If thine ardent spirit, at rest in *Agawam*, deign to note the little deeds of mortals, forget not thy modest disciple in Edina, for he also smote the worshipers of Dagon, they who change men to beasts, and dry up in human hearts the germs of morality.

Nothing but his sluggish faith prevented this patriotic North Briton from following the children of the forest through glade, and lake, and stream. Then he could have attuned their souls to hatred as implacable as his own. If questioned on this subject, perhaps cakes and ale might tell a tale of ease. But our purpose is neither to write a disquisition on charity, nor to prove that those engineers who fixed the limits of the dark ages should have run the line a little nearer to our favored time. The chief purpose of these remarks is to discuss that ever-interesting subject, the longevity of lies.

The "*extirpation*" of Indians, this author informs us, was a thing "agreeable and common to the cruel *Spaniards*," but he hopes, a method by which "the humane generous *Britons* will never chuse to extend their dominions." In English America this assertion has been made a thousand times, and, outside the departments of history in the leading universities, is very generally believed. Yet it is false, for it is only in Latin-America that Indians are numerous. Millions of them are still to be seen in all the lands below the Rio Grande. No Indians are now to be found in the eleven States first settled by the English. From the higher principles of the "humane generous *Britons*" a different condition could have been fairly expected. The motive of the anonymous author is clearly to prove the greater purity of Protestantism. For that purpose his illustration was thrice unfortunate, for whether he scanned the plantations settled by the English, the Dutch or the Swedes, for Indians, he looked in vain. If New York be noted as an exception, the explanation is easy. The Indian reservations in the western part of that State are far beyond the regions settled by the English or the Dutch. These survivors of the native races owe their gratitude to the American people. In Delaware as in New York, the Swedes and English left no aborigines within its limits.

It is quite true that in the West Indies the *conquistadores* soon swept away the aboriginal races, but churchmen of the type of Las Casas protested, and everywhere on the mainland the native race was preserved. The French, too, regarded the Indian as a human being and spared him. He has vanished only before the wrath of the "superior" race.

Look for Hottentots or Bushmen in South Africa. The Portuguese found there and left behind them multitudes of black men, who had attained to the pastoral state. Before Dutchmen and Britons, they vanished like that spectral army that besieged the walls of Prague. Black men, Kaffirs and Zulus, there are in southeast Africa, but at the Cape there is no Hottentot. The last Bushman, with his dwarfish wife, has been photographed. Americans know that, in the Philippine archipelago, there are more natives than when Magellan discovered the islands. Except in the West Indies the Spaniards have always preserved the native races. In Mexico, in Peru, and in the region of the Gulf, there was fighting, and killing, and plundering, but not extirpation. From this exception the general conduct of the Spaniards has been inferred.

Since Englishmen settled at James' Fort (1607), more than 300 years have come and gone. In that region time has left no vestiges of the native race. Yet the first Virginia colonists have acquired among their descendants a reputation for humanity, a reputation that is unsupported by history, and contradicted by the testimony of the senses. All that can be said of that courageous company of intending planters, is that they treated the aborigines at least as well as some other English colonists, but not so well as did the Pilgrims, the Catholics, or the Quakers.

It is refreshing to turn from the ferocious Edinburgh pamphlet to the mild narrative of the *Banishment of the Jesuits* (July 9, 1763). It is not alone their juxtaposition that makes the contrast. The iniquitous treatment of the missionaries is carefully and temperately told. Other records included in the present volume are *The Journal of M. Dabbadie*, 1763–1764, and the correspondence of many colonial worthies, among them Croghan, Johnson, Loftus, Gage, Haldimand, and Bouquet.

If one is interested in knowing the exact situation in the Illinois country when Col. George Rogers Clark arrived, July 4,

1778, at Kaskaskia, he will find it necessary to examine the correspondence and instructions which form a large part of the present volume. In the future publications of the Illinois Historical Society, there may come information that will enable us plausibly to explain Clark's *accidental* meeting on the Ohio with the party of hunters from Kaskaskia. The leader of the "Long Knives" was too brave to be imprudent. How far had he, through Bentley and others, made smooth his way? It is seriously to be hoped that some day we shall know all the participants in Clark's brilliant campaign. Its grandeur grows with added details.

A History of the Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase (1819-1841). By Thomas Maitland Marshall, Ph.D. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1914. Pp. 266.

By whatever name one chooses to call this study it principally deals with the secession from Mexico of her province of Texas, and the assistance rendered by the United States Government and the American people to rebellious citizens of Mexico. Stated differently this useful essay carefully describes the first blot on our national escutcheon. The political morality of the acts which led Americans to adhere to the insurgent citizens of Mexico and give them assistance in their revolt is hardly a subject for debate, and the author does not formally discuss it.

In shaping the plans which dismembered Mexico, President Jackson was one of the most capable architects and certainly the most eminent. From some of the keenest and the most suspicious of his contemporaries he contrived to conceal his real sentiments, but time has lifted the shroud from more than one of his confidential communications. The hero of New Orleans stands revealed very much in the character of a conspirator. To the publishers of the series of "True" biographies we commend an appropriate theme, viz, "The True Andrew Jackson." The hero of the Hermitage died without confessing to Parton.

On page 13 Dr. Marshall says: "The idea that the Louisiana Purchase extended to the Rio Grande became a certainty with Jefferson early in 1804." The author of the Declaration had made a far greater discovery just a little earlier than 1804. In fact, some time before 1803 he became convinced that the

blessings promised by its Preamble could not be secured by the Constitution under his theory of strict construction. Another statesman of the Jeffersonian school, perhaps the narrowest of all the Presidents, John Tyler, was likewise persuaded that this instrument, which to Federalists and Whigs had discoursed sweet music, to strict construction Democrats gave forth the harshest sounds. For purposes of expansion at least, these statesmen discovered that the Constitution, as they had understood it, was unequal to the exigencies of government. This was not the message which Laussat had sent to Claiborne and Wilkinson.

When Burr was engaged in his project in the Southwest, Gen. Wilkinson had offered to protect from invasion the provinces of his Catholic Majesty for the modest sum of $300,000, an amount which Wilkinson could himself have earned in the short space of 200 years. It is likely that for a small part of that sum, he could have disarmed even Burr's ambition. Gallatin, a statesman of greater ability and higher ethical principles than most of those who acted with Jefferson, opposed the policy adopted toward Spain. Perhaps he attached some weight to the fact that the Spaniards had settled Santa Fé in 1582, more than 230 years before Anglo-Americans had established themselves on the coast of the Gulf. He knew the flimsy texture of the American claim to Texas.

In 1815, at New Orleans, Capt. Perry declared that a thousand men were ready to invade Texas. This was an enterprise that appealed with peculiar force to the freebooters of Barataria. It was not strange that the pirate, Jean Lafitte, participated in the adventure, and for a time established himself on Galveston Island. For the purpose of imposing order on the pirates the United States regarded that region as belonging to Spain, but for other purposes it belonged to the United States, which by the Treaty of 1819 surrendered it to Spain, receiving in return the two Floridas and also a claim to the country of Oregon. John Quincy Adams, the last member of Monroe's Cabinet to agree to this arrangement, was long regarded by Southern prejudice as the chief promoter of that transaction The great Henry Clay, whose countrymen were destined to bring *graft* to a degree of perfection seldom equalled in the outside world, believed that Luis de Onis, the representative of Spain, had a pecuniary

interest in promoting the treaty by which we acquired the Floridas.

This was the era of the Forsyths, who seem to have brought American diplomacy to its low water mark. Kings could be insulted, especially feeble kings, with impunity. Keeping step to the same sound, but belonging to a later period, was Joel R. Poinsett, our Minister to Mexico. A York rite Mason, he assisted in organizing lodges in that Republic. For his activity he was sharply criticised by those brothers of "the mystic tie" who preferred the Scottish rite. In the variegated history of Mexico, *Yorkinos* and *Escoceses* have added elements of new confusion. He it was who declared that if the border Indians were not subdued, it would be necessary for the United States to pursue and chastise them "even under the walls of Mexico."

The accession of Jackson confirmed the growing sentiment in favor of acquiring Texas. So successfully was his eagerness repressed that it was popularly believed he was opposed to the project. Butler wrote to that virtuous statesman delicately hinting at the bribery of a Mexican official. It is only just to add that Jackson gave no encouragement to this baseness. But he did not, as he should have done, immediately recall him, though ultimately he was forced to. Butler wrote frequently, and wrote not only of Texas but of California.

Dr. Marshall's study is worthy of careful examination and is an excellent narrative of the subject treated. Perhaps a little condensation of certain sections would tend to make the outline of his story a trifle more clear. It plainly shows the efficient character of the historical work done at the University of California.

Nathan Hale, 1776, Biography and Memorials. By Henry Phelps Johnston: New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Humphrey Milford; Oxford University Press, 1914. Pp. 296.

Three interesting chapters inform the reader of the ancestral background, the youth, and the college life of Nathan Hale, a brave but unfortunate patriot. We are made clearly to see the social and academic forces which, during his residence at Yale College, fashioned one of the noblest characters of the War for Independence.

Hale's brief though successful career as a teacher was interrupted by "war's wild note." As a lieutenant in one of the Connecticut companies he was early in the field and was applying himself with enthusiasm to his new duties. The regiments of that State, sent in response to Washington's call for reinforcements, were soon in bivouac from Roxbury to Medford. With other New England volunteers they were besieging the British in Boston. Hale found himself in the brigade of Gen. Sullivan. In a short time his devotion to duty and his generosity won him the confidence and the affections of his soldiers.

On March 17, 1776, when with its Tory friends the British army sailed away from Boston, where it had been outgeneraled, Washington correctly concluded that the next point of attack would be the city of New York, and thither he immediately sent many of his regiments, himself following later with the remainder of the army. The succeeding events, including the disastrous battle of Long Island, August 27, 1776, is a familiar story. In the detached fighting of that day Captain Hale took no part. His command, in expectation of a British attack, manned the defenses of Brooklyn Heights. But no assault was made. It is probable that at least one lesson had been learned at Bunker Hill. The American position would better be reduced by a systematic siege, which could begin with the morning. But, as is well known, by that time the Americans were gone. Hale's assistance during this skilful retreat appears to have been his only share in the battle.

For the Commander-in-Chief there followed anxious days. Occupying Manhattan Island, he was aware that his position was fraught with danger, for with his great fleet, Howe could sail to the northward and land a force in his rear. Without knowledge of the plans of his adversary Washington was sorely perplexed. He urged his generals to learn something of the movements of his enemy. With their subordinates they discussed the need of such information and the means of obtaining it. It was in this situation that Hale consulted a fellow officer about an idea that was already assuming definite shape in his mind, namely, to disguise himself as a spy, enter the lines of the enemy, and return with the desired intelligence. His friend attempted to dissuade him, but Hale's purpose had mastered him. In his own modest

opinion he had accomplished nothing since entering the army, though he had in fact satisfactorily performed every duty assigned. He had no delusions about the nature of his project; he was aware that it was full of danger and he knew the usual fate of spies. All this he had considered with his friend. But he had become convinced that it was the duty of some one to obtain the desired information, and, so far as we are informed, without the approval of any superior, and against the remonstrance of his friend, he set out on his perilous way. Crossing from the shore of his native State, he landed at Huntington, Long Island, and safely worked his way to the East River. He was soon in New York within the British lines, where he began to make sketches and to take such notes as he believed would be useful. Of the details of his capture we know nothing. Apparently, he was taken during the night in an effort to reach the American lines. Brought at once before Gen. Howe, he found it impossible to explain the object of the notes and sketches found upon him. On a rigid cross-examination he made a full confession. In the circumstances the British commander did not believe it necessary to observe the forms of military law by giving his prisoner a trial; accordingly in the forenoon of the following day, September 22, 1776, the devoted Connecticut captain was hanged as a spy. He was too intelligent not to have known that such a fate was likely to befall him. But there was likewise a slight chance of success. That he volunteered to take. When failure came, he uttered, perhaps he felt, no regrets, but went courageously to his doom. With brave words on his lips he was hurried on to immortality. Everything connected with his tragic end shows that he had resolved, if it became necessary, to sacrifice himself in the cause of liberty. *I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country.* This was the last message of Nathan Hale, a patriotic message which will echo down the centuries, a message which doubtless in the dreary days to come, was a consolation and support to many another patriot.

The soldier's fatal undertaking is minutely and accurately described in this enlarged and revised edition of Prof. Johnston's book. Records and legends and traditions have been carefully assembled and questioned, but they give forth no real voice nor sound as to the details of the young patriot's execution.

After all, it may be energy misapplied to look in America for new light. Perhaps a more careful search in England might be rewarded by the discovery of a few incidents of value.

In addition to an excellent biography there are included in this useful work many memorials of its young hero. His diary, his letters, and his verses are all of the deepest interest. It is a commonplace in American history that the Constitution was largely the work of college men. Incidentally, the work of Prof. Johnston shows that college graduates performed important services in the war of the Revolution. One sees, too, a pleasant picture of academic life with its cares and its joys. The *Hale Bibliography*, which is appended, will prove of great value to all who are interested in the beginnings of our republic.

Ulysses S. Grant. By Franklin Spencer Edmunds: Philadelphia, George W. Jacobs & Company. Copyright, 1915. Pp. 376.

This volume of the series styled "American Crisis Biographies" is a concise account of the chief characteristics of the renowned Civil War hero, as well as an accurate narrative of the important military events with which he was connected. Those who are not professional students of American history, but who desire to learn something of the men who preserved its greatness, will find in this book much to entertain and instruct them. That other numerous class who have not the leisure to learn the Civil War by reading in detail its battles and sieges, by studying the technical narratives of its great campaigns will, by an examination of this convenient volume, know the progress of the war for the Union and much that is essential about its greatest commander.

In referring to General Grant as the first soldier of the War for Southern Independence, one does not need to disparage the services of his loyal and efficient friends, Sherman and Sheridan, or of George H. Thomas, who was not so close to his affections. Ultimate defeat does not diminish the stature of Robert E. Lee, nor lack of support dim the fame of Beauregard, or of Joseph E. Johnston. They are all enrolled in the register of fame, but Grant is quite unlike any of them.

Though Beauregard found little favor with his superiors, compared with Grant he was thrice fortunate. In the opinion

of his Illinois neighbors and even of his kinsmen Capt. Grant was a person of little merit. In his own judgment he could at least bake bread for the soldiers, because, in the war with Mexico, he had done it with success. In some capacity he was eager to strike a blow for the Union. When he had witnessed the dismal efforts of political officers to drill the volunteers of Illinois, he was convinced that he was equal to the command of a regiment and modestly applied for one. In time he was assigned to the school-boy task of ruling plain sheets of paper. At last some one was reckless enough to make the linear expert, who drew a *per diem* of $2, a sort of mustering officer. Among the Illinois volunteers was an unmanageable regiment of which few sought the colonelcy. Some one blundered into giving Grant a trial. Thus necessity determined his selection. It did not seem important to any one to gain the services of a graduate of West Point who had had eleven years' experience in the regular army, two of them in bloody warfare. Even Congressman Washburn and Governor Yates, always his loyal friends, did not adequately appreciate the Galena store clerk. However, in his skillful hands the boisterous regiment soon became meek enough. The little tasks assigned him were promptly and satisfactorily performed. Then came Belmont, a small affair to be sure, but large enough to discover a man.

As he had modestly applied for a regiment, so now he diffidently asked of Halleck permission to win a victory. But "Old Brains," as the soldiers called the commander in the West, refused his unmilitary looking subordinate. To Grant's petition were added the entreaties of Commodore Foote. When finally permission was wrung from Halleck, Fort Henry fell, and Donelson soon followed. Then that unenterprising commander promptly claimed both victories as his own and impudently named his reward. Willing enough to recommend for advancement the juniors of Grant, for him there were no commendations, no rewards. Halleck never approved any project of Grant, nor did Frémont during his brief incumbency. The movements in the Vicksburg campaign, planned solely by Grant, were too far advanced for Halleck to countermand. Small armies were rapidly dispersed and on July 4, 1863, a large one was captured. Had the long expected leader arrived? The people of the North

and their great President were sure that he had, but the War Department was still to be convinced, and fully convinced it never was till Appomattox came.

Grant had hardly begun to be known when slanderous tongues and libelous pens attempted to ruin his reputation. Character he had none, at least so far as we can gather from their opinions. Yet if they had examined the annals of the Mexican War, they would have found in the career of Lieut. Grant proofs of sense and heroism. This evidence they did not want, for it would have strangely altered the countenance of the Ulysses Grant of whom they had drawn caricatures for their friends.

Our notice of *The True Ulysses S. Grant*, which appears in this number of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, emphasizes other phases in the career of the renowned Union leader. The reader who desires to know Gen. Grant in clear outline must examine the pages of Prof. Edmonds. If one might hazard a single criticism it is that the author has in a few instances, doubtless out of the abundance of his knowledge, written of military affairs with a slight excess of detail. If these sections had been a little subordinated, perhaps the personality of Grant would have gained in grandeur.

The True Ulysses S. Grant. By Charles King, Brigadier General, U. S. V.: Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1914. Pp. 400.

Those who have travelled the broad expanse of literature on the War for Southern Independence will find upon an examination of this handy volume, that there were on the landscape interesting objects that they had not seen. Many of his countrymen best remember Gen. Grant as a President who showed little sagacity in his exercise of the appointing power; others have been chiefly impressed by his Virginia campaigns with their staggering casualities; still others think of him as the fortunate soldier whose superiors or subordinates won for him an almost unbroken succession of victories in the West. Not a few older Americans think of his career on the Coast, of the hard drinking Captain forced to quit the service for the army's good. The people of Galena remembered the older brother who, unregarded, toiled for his juniors in their country store or, perhaps,

of the diffident officer who was unable to harangue a public meeting. In Illinois and in other parts of the West were a few who had heard of a pedestrian quartermaster who had served beyond the Rio Grande.

Have we not read in school books, in magazines, in memoirs and other military narratives that the great leader of the Union armies was sluggish and taciturn, that he was often dull from strong drink, that without emotion he suffered his men by thousands and by tens of thousands to be slaughtered? On all these questions and many besides Gen. King has thrown a strong and steady light. His is not a partisan biography but a book temperately written by one who appears to be as truthful as the subject of his theme.

Of all the thousands who served in the aggressive war against Mexico none surpassed, and few were those who equalled Lieut. Grant in courage. That had been tried from Palo Alto. As quartermaster he might have avoided the fierce encounter at Monterey, but he preferred the rapture of the strife. When perils were gathering near, it was Ulysses Grant, perhaps the best horseman in either the present war or in that to follow, who mounted, dashed through the deadly hail, and spurred back with sorely needed ammunition. Quiet, indeed, he was, and, for the world in which he lived, excessively modest, but his serenity and silence were unmixed with fear.

Those who were convinced that Grant was neither indolent nor intemperate, saw him in fancy gird about him, at Spottsylvania his butcher's apron. Yet when disaster impended over Petersburg, and Lee's devoted little band, in an effort to escape, surged across the bridges, Grant refused to give the order that would have brought death to multitudes. In speaking of this incident he said: "I could not bear to kill, when it seemed so certain that in a day or two we could easily capture." Yet for this moderation the great leader has seldom been praised. In perfect harmony with this humanity was the chivalrous scene at Appomattox, not the issue of rations on a hint from Lee, for *that* might proceed from a generosity which was natural, but the command that hushed the voice of victory and forbade any exulting over a dauntless though vanquished foe.

If patience, industry, modesty, truth, purity, and bravery

deserve a reward, Gen. Grant, who possessed all these virtues and others besides, should have been the happiest person in the land. Yet to him was given but little sunshine. Posterity may forget that for a very brief period he drank a little, but it should not forget that though aware of their hostility he endeavored to serve McClellan, by whom he was injured, and Buell, by whom he was disparaged.

From the boyhood years of Ulysses Simpson Grant to the moment that he had found himself a ruined banker, Gen. King has given us an animated account of one of the most remarkable characters in all American history. One does not care to see the great soldier oppressed with care and conquered by disease, and this the author suggests rather than portrays.

The only thing to criticise about this splendid biography is its title, *The True Ulysses S. Grant.* The implication one does not fully approve, but one should remember that, in the works of a series like the present, the apparent necessities of commerce fashioned the title. If any of the volumes deserves to be styled "The True," it is that from the pen of Gen. King.

Kit Carson Days (1809-1868). By Edwin L. Sabin: Chicago, A. C. McClurg & Co., 1914. Pp. 664.

In various ways the era and the principal character of this book have been introduced to readers of American history. Nevertheless, not a little that is new has been included in the present treatment of this familiar hero. Christopher Carson was descended from certain warrior Carsons of the Revolution. Whether all Irish Presbyterians deserve the praise universally bestowed upon the "sturdy Scotch-Irish stock" is not certain, but there is no doubt that the Carsons were entitled to it. Born in 1809, much of his youth was passed at a stockade garrison in Missouri. He appears never to have gone to school, and at the age of fifteen, was apprenticed to a saddler from whom he escaped after a year of unattractive toil. Following a caravan on the Santa Fé trail, he then gained his first impressions of Mexicans and Indians.

With Ewing Young, Kit Carson made the perilous journey to California, when he learned to hunt, to trap, and fight Indians, occupations in which he was destined to pass many of his early

years. He soon developed a courage that was hereditary, likewise prudence and integrity. The knowledge then acquired of trappers and trails and Indians was subsequently of the greatest advantage. Afterward, in the north he met Bridger, Thomas Fitzpatrick, and the Sublettes. In this part of his career he was involved in the thick of the fight for furs.

The adventures recorded by Mr. Sabin mention the missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, and the missions of that epoch. These spiritual heroes were often possessed of as much courage as the boldest of the trappers.

At a later stage Carson accompanied Frémont, when that officer made his *quasi* military reconnaissance of California, then a part of the Republic of Mexico.

In the seminaries mentioned Carson acquired that knowledge which qualified him for both the civil and military service of his country. For his peculiar talents the Civil War furnished a fine field. In time he became Colonel and Brevet Brigadier-General, a proof of the remarkable natural ability of one who had never been instructed in even the elements of education.

The trappers and the missionaries are briefly introduced to the reader. The text is confirmed by many appropriate illustrations. A more vivid picture of Carson would have been drawn if some of the details concerning matters hardly related to the hero had been reduced in bulk or altogether omitted. However, Mr. Sabin has done the work in his own way and has succeeded in preparing an entertaining and instructive book. Perhaps the subject of this volume is the phase of American history least understood by students of our national development. It is not, however, the aspect which is of least importance.

Robert Fulton. By Alice Crary Sutcliffe: New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915. Pp. 195.

This little book, by the pen of the inventor's great-granddaughter, is a delightful specimen of biography. Though intended for the instruction and entertainment of boys and girls, persons of mature years can be assured of a pleasant evening in its perusal. There is here no multitude of details to conceal the great benefactor of the human race. This plain unwrinkled tale reveals a child

of great mental activity, an affectionate and industrious youth, a young man of splendid character and splendid achievement, for Robert Fulton died at fifty.

In America the story of the *Clermont* is familiar to young and old. While the name of the famous inventor is a household word, it is greatly to be feared that the principal events of his beautiful life are not so familiar as they deserve to be.

From this little volume the reader will learn that Fulton did not first design a boat and then build one. Patiently he fashioned models. With them he experimented and on the results based his calculations. On the double foundation of character and industry he toiled on through the troublous years of the Revolution in France, experimenting on the Seine, at one time on his steamboat, at another on his torpedo. Now endeavoring to win the favor of Washington, now laboring to interest Napoleon, and again appealing to Pitt. Cautious commendation he gained from each, but for ultimate success he himself deserves all the praise. This estimate does not overlook the friendship of Franklin, of West, of Barlow, of Livinston and others, all of which is concisely told in this valuable biography.

The Life of John Hay. By William Roscoe Thayer. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1915. Two volumes.

The checkered career of John Hay—Secretary to President Lincoln, diplomatic *attaché* in three European capitals, journalist, editor, author, poet, ambassador to England, and Secretary of State—is one to provoke interest not only as a personal biography, but as an insight into the inner political history of the last half-century.

The man of letters is prominent in John Hay from the first. A racy freshness of phrase, not always as disciplined as it might be, runs through everything he ever wrote. And with it a raciness of judgment on things military, political, and religious, which suffers from the same lack of disciplining and restraint. Perhaps his impressionistic nature was his greatest virtue and most conspicuous defect—invaluable as a literary asset, it betrayed him into partisan views that did not always have about them that *largeur d'esprit* expected of a man to whom experience came in

such unstinted measure and variety as they did to him; and not only experiences, but posts of honor and of power. His judgments of men, movements, and events, were very often accompanied by so fine a feeling of scorn that one sees the observer more than the observed. He shared views concerning Gen. McClellan that lost none of their bitterness in the perspective of the years. His confidently expressed judgment that Lee's left could have been doubled up after Gettysburg, and driven down on Williamsport, or that an attack in three columns would have succeeded, is another example of his impressionism, and of the severe judgments based upon it.

His "Castilian Days," written for the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1870, and revised for republication in 1890, contained in their first form "much that might be advantageously modified or omitted," as Hay himself said in the preface to the second edition (I, 365). The reviewer was, therefore, surprised to find the editor of the Life of John Hay, going out of his way deliberately to indicate the strictures passed on the Catholic Church, in "Castilian Days." He justifies them on the grounds that they were "unsectarian"—the utterances of an "ethical naturalist." As if ethical naturalism was not in itself the worst of religious prejudices, affording its devotee the occasion to criticize all forms of religion that had more than *his* modicum of belief to express. It is a naïve defense, out of place in volumes such as these. The question of "Castilian Days" was agitated at the end of the Presidential campaign in 1904. As Col. Hay himself put it (I, 367), the extracts showed "that twenty-five years ago I had whacked with the freedom and irresponsibility of youth the Spanish Catholic Church from Torquemada to Padre Claret." In view of this utterance, the author's apology is doubly without warrant. The reviewer must confess to a painful surprise also in reading Hay's creed as an historian (II, 30). Speaking of Gen. McClellan he says: "It is of the utmost importance that we should *seem* fair to him, while we are destroying him." One does not recover from a phrase like that, and the impression that it leaves is damaging.

The great personality of Lincoln stands out in glorious relief from all his chattering *entourage*, and this is one of the fine effects of the first volume. In fact, the scenes and personages change

so quickly on almost every page of these two volumes that they are a delight to read, notwithstanding the fact that John Hay and his biographer sometimes obtrude themselves too prominently and obscure the vision. The tangled months of diplomacy which so wore down the health of Col. Hay—never very robust—during his occupancy of the office of Secretary of State, are well told. There is not an uninteresting page in either volume, and much to be learned in every chapter. The index is the fullest and most helpful one we have seen in a long time. Col. Hay, to use his own words, "had his chance at happiness and gained nearly all the great prizes."

Personal Experiences Among Our North American Indians. By W. Thornton Parker, M.D. Northampton, Mass., 1913. 8vo, 232 pages.

Dr. Parker is a competent authority on the life and customs of the Indians who roamed over our western plains a generation ago. In 1867 he served as hospital steward in a company of U. S. cavalry detailed to escort a large caravan destined to an army post in New Mexico. In those days the country west of the Mississippi was still unsettled, the habitat of wild buffalo and of still wilder Indians, made hostile through the steady encroachments of the white man. For nearly twenty years he served in those uncultivated regions as surgeon among U. S. troops and afterwards on Indian reservations. From long and intimate experience with several Indian tribes, especially the Chippewas, many of whose braves became his devoted friends, he acquired a thorough familiarity with their character, customs and mode of life in times both of peace and of war.

His reminiscences, embodied in the volume under review, cover a wider field than that implied in the title; for while the bulk of the work is given to his interesting and valuable study of the Indians who formerly disputed with the pale faces the possession of the western plains, he has not a little to say about the mode of life and the deeds of valor of the fearless men, who in the service of the United States Government kept up communications with the far west, and were constantly engaged in putting down marauding expeditions of hostile Indian tribes.

The twenty-nine chapters which go to make up this interesting work consist largely of essays and papers which the author composed at different times, and which he has now gathered together in book form. Several of these bear on the same subjects, with the result that there is considerable repetition in the stories and descriptions which he gives of the past. With judicial pruning, perhaps one-fourth of the contents might have been omitted, without detriment and with decided improvement in point of unity.

Among the more interesting subjects treated are the various kinds of Indian arrows, and the skill of the natives in extracting arrow-heads embedded in the flesh, hygiene among the Indians, their marriage customs and treatment of women and children, their burial customs, and their deep sense of religion. He laments the unfair treatment of the Indians by the white settlers, and the neglect of our Government to protect them in their rights. Far from sharing the view so common in the west in former days that the only good Indian was the dead Indian, he has words of praise for their natural nobility of character. They were, indeed, vindictive and cruel towards their enemies, but kind, loyal and generous to those whom they came to recognize as friends. To quote but one tribute of respect from the author (p. 81): "They are fearless, vigorous, manly. The Indian's ideas of right and wrong are of such a character as to rouse our respect and surprise. To live among them is certain to develop mutual regard; and, in my high opinion of their general worth, I have but echoed the sentiments of the manliest and truest people it has been my privilege to meet."

NOTES AND COMMENT

Can anyone ever estimate all that the Catholic Church in America, through its numerous bishops and priests, who were educated at Rome, owes to the ecclesiastical Colleges, Academies and Universities of the Eternal City? Rome has always been the mistress of ecclesiastical science; and her educational institutions, particularly the College of Propaganda, have been furnishing for almost three centuries priests and missionaries to the New World. All our beginnings, however shadowy, are our best treasures; and so it was with real delight we came across a sermon in Latin on the *Coming of the Holy Ghost*, preached by Felix Dougherty, of Philadelphia, before Pius VI, in the Sistine Chapel, on Pentecost Sunday, 1796. At first we thought some mistake must have been made, but on investigation we found that a Felix Dougherty had been baptized at old St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia, in 1774. This would place him in his twenty-second year when he was given the honor of preaching in the presence of the Pope and Cardinals that day. It seemed right to conclude that he was the first American student sent to Rome. The convert Congregationalist minister, Rev. John Thayer, was received into the Church at Rome in 1783; but he made his studies in Paris.

The data gathered thus far was too meagre to state with any degree of accuracy who Felix Dougherty was or what became of him, for there is no record in any of our *Clergy Lists* of a priest of his name. Letters of inquiry sent out to three of our best-known Catholic historians of the present day yielded the information only that the name had been met with in Archbishop Carroll's letters where the remark occurs that Felix had never been ordained. One clue presented itself in the Decree of June 9, 1784, appointing Carroll Prefect Apostolic of the United States. There, Cardinal Antonelli, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, informed Carroll that Propaganda invited him to send two boys (from Maryland and Pennsylvania) to Rome to be educated free. They were to be between 12 and 15 years of age, with promising talents and a good constitution.

The problem now was to ascertain whether Carroll accepted this invitation. We were fortunate enought to find several documents in the *Propaganda Archives* in Rome which threw some further light on the question. In a letter dated: "Maryland, July 28, 1787," Father Carroll, then Prefect-Apostolic, wrote to the Papal Nuncio in Paris, announcing the fact that he had chosen two boys—one, Ralph Smith, 14 years old, of Maryland; the other, Felix Dougherty, 13 years old, of Pennsylvania. "Both of them," says Carroll, "are bright boys, especially the latter." They sailed from Philadelphia on a boat bound for Bordeaux, the captain of which was a Catholic. Their parents paid the expenses of the voyage. Two months later, October, 1787, they landed at Bordeaux, and were received by the Archbishop of Bordeaux, who made arrangements for them to go by stage to Marseilles. This overland journey took fifteen days at that

time, and the boys were given twelve louis to pay their way. When they arrived in Marseilles, they were taken care of by Mr. I. Billon, a merchant, who bought their passage by boat to Civitavecchia, whence they proceeded to Rome.

From this time, the two boys are lost sight of completely in the *Propaganda Archives*, though no doubt the *Urban College Archives*, where they studied, would furnish information about their progress. We meet again with one of them, Felix Dougherty, when this sermon was printed at Rome, in 1796. Another document in *Propaganda Archives*—a *Relation* of himself by Dougherty, dated "Baltimore, Espiscopal Seminary [St. Mary's]," tells us that he left the Urban College and returned to Baltimore in 1797, *per cagione della mia debole salute*. He says that he intended going to Georgetown to teach the classics; but there is no record of his ever being at that venerable institution. The *Archives* of St. Mary's Seminary say he left in 1798. After that there is no record of him. It is probable that he never received sacred orders. It was not necessary to be ordained even to the sub-diaconate in order to preach before the Holy Father.

Finotti's copy of Carroll's *Discourse on General Washington* contained an autograph letter of the Archbishop (November 25, 1806) to Felix Dougherty, Esq., at his office, East Street, Baltimore. Whoever owns this particular volume of Finotti's library might be able to solve the question of what became of him. We have written to the present Rector of the Urban College (Propaganda) for facts of importance on Dougherty's student days there (1787–1797).

"It is a great pity," says the author of *The Enemies of Books*, "that there should be so many distinct enemies at work for the destruction of literature, and that they should so often be allowed to work out their sad end. Looked at rightly, the possession of any old book is a sacred trust, which a conscientious owner or guardian would as soon think of ignoring as a parent would of neglecting his child. An old book, whatever its subject or internal merits, is truly a portion of the national history." How many books on our national Catholic history have been destroyed by one or the other of these "Enemies" he mentions—Fire, Water, Gas and Heat, Dust and Neglect, Ignorance and Bigotry, Bookworms, Other Vermin, Bookbinders, Collectors, Servants and Children? There should be at least one great central storehouse, a *National Catholic Library* somewhere in the United States, preferably at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., where, owing to the help and to the presence of the National Library of Congress, the student could find easily and with dispatch all that has been published so far on American Catholic history.

Among the rare Catholic Americana sold recently (The Arthur H. Clark Co., Publishers, Cleveland, Ohio) was the *Breve Relatione d'alcune Missioni della Compagnia di Gesu nella Nuova Francia*, published by Father Bressani at Macerati, 1653. It was a first edition and brought $135.

Exactly one hundred and twenty-one years ago—on March 18, 1795, the young Prince Demetrius Gallitzin, received all the sacred orders from tonsure to the priesthood at Baltimore. He was the first to be so honored within the limits of the Thirteen Original States, and there will ever be around his life an unusual attraction for the Catholic historical student, especially from Pennsylvania. We have already several excellent biographies of the Prince-Priest Gallitzin, and it is surprising that, with these studies at our command, mistakes should still creep into biographical sketches of this eminent missionary and scholar. In an excellent critique, the Editor of *Die Amerika* of St. Louis, in the issue of February 18, 1916, very justly calls attention to another of these blunders—the nationality of Gallitzin's mother—Countess Amalie von Schmettau, who was not—as has been so often claimed, and has been erroneously stated in this REVIEW—a Russian, but was the daughter of the celebrated Prussian Field-Marshal Count von Schmettau, and was born at Berlin, in 1748. The mother's remarkable career, as the Editor of *Amerika* says, has never been fully described in the biographies of Gallitzin. All that we know of this saintly man, who chose to hide his princely birth under the name of *Father Augustine Smith*, speaks to us of his mother. His saintly life, his talents, his deep humility, his forty-one years of devotion amid the hardships of the missions in the Alleghanies came from the Catholic heart of his German mother, whose influence over the future missionary's life was at all times paramount. Some day, perhaps, we shall be speaking of Father Gallitzin as the model of the American Priesthood, just as they have taken priests like Vianney and Kolping out from the midst of the clergy of other lands and have placed them on high for all to see and to imitate.

Among the many valuable possessions of the Daughters of Charity (Mother Seton), in that fascinating centre of Catholic historic associations, Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio (Cincinnati), there is a gold chalice, 9 inches high, with a cup 3 inches in diameter, a base 4½ inches across, and a paten about 5 inches broad. On the base of this chalice are inscribed the words: *pro residentia fratru minorum de Munter oluis*, 1644. The leading authorities on Franciscan lore in this country have been consulted as to the whereabouts of *Munter oluis*, but no satisfactory explanation has as yet been given.

At Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio, in a fireproof safe are preserved the valuable *Archives of the Sisters of Charity*. This vault has earned its title "fireproof" by passing through the conflagration which robbed the Community (April 16, 1884) of its new Mother House which had been occupied just one year. The *Archives* are in a room 9 feet high, 10 feet long and 7 feet deep. They are fitted with black walnut cases and cupboards from floor to ceiling. Here are treasured the *Journals* of Mother Seton (1803), and of Mother Margaret George, other *Diaries* of note, and letters of the hierarchy and clergy from Archbishop Carroll's time until the present. In an adjoining room are cases filled with old volumes done in the *scriptoria* of the monks, books from the earliest days of printing and

later. A complete set of the *Catholic Directory* (1833–1915), files of the *Catholic Telegraph* (1831–1915) of the *Catholic Magazine, Catholic Miscellany*, etc., etc., and many of the early books published in the United States are found here. The complete catalogue reveals the presence of many rare books, some not easily duplicated, especially those relating to Emmitsburg and to the Church history of Ohio and the Northwest Territory.

The history of the Diocese of Cincinnati is traced on the walls of the *Bishop's Room* at Mount St. Joseph, in the life-sized portraits of the four great men who have occupied the episcopal See of Cincinnati from 1821 to 1916—Bishop Fenwick, Archbishops Purcell, Elder and Moeller. The portraits are the work of Sister Ernestine, teacher of art at the Academy and a pupil of Prof. Duveneck, who was recently honored at the Panama Exposition. Among the many valuable original paintings in the Art Gallery are pictures by Guido Reni, Titian, Sasseferrato, Carlo Dolci, Carracci, Van Dyck, Murillo, Domenichino, Rubens, da Vinci, Raphael, Joshua Reynolds, and Correggio.

In the Second Provincial Council of Quito (1870), the Bishops and Priests of Ecuador expressed the desire to have published a Collection of the Ecclesiastical Privileges of America. The eminent Jesuit, Father Francis Xavier Hernaez, began the work which later blossomed out into a complete collection in two volumes of all the ordinances emanating from the Holy See from the days of the Discovery in favor of the Church in the Western Hemisphere, under the title: *Coleccion de Bulas, Breves y otros Documentos relativos a la iglesia de America y Filipinas, dispuesta, anotada et ilustrada* (Brussels, 1879). These classic folios are divided into seven parts:

I. *The Ecclesiastical Privileges of the Spanish Kings and of the Colonial Churches.*
II. *The Ecclesiastical Privileges of the Bishops of America.*
III. *The Ecclesiastical Privileges of the Religious Orders.*
IV. *The Privileges common to all the faithful; and certain customs of America.*
V. *The Establishment of Episcopal Sees in America.*
    1. The West Indies.
    2. North America.
    3. Central America.
    4. South America.
    5. Philippine Islands.
VI. *Various decrees and laws affecting the Church of America;* erection of Universities (San Domingo, Lima, Mexico, Sante Fe de Bogota, Characas, Quito, Manila, and Guatemala); and liturgical rites and canonizations;
VII. *The Church in Brazil and in the United States,* the latter part of which contains all the original bulls, briefs, constitutions and decrees sent from Rome to the United States from 1789 down to 1871.

It is evident that this monumental work is an indispensable *Regesta* in the compilation of a *Chartularium Americanum*. This important collection of all the bulls, briefs, constitutions, motu propios, letters, etc., etc., from the Holy See to the Church in the United States is not a luxury but a necessary adjunct of the historical apparatus we need before Catholic American historical work can be placed on a scholarly basis. For the purpose of convenience, all official relations between the Holy See and the Church in America can be considered in three grand divisions: the *Papacy;* the *Roman Curia* (the Roman Congregations, the Sacred Tribunals, and Curial Offices); and the *Extra-Curial Offices*, such as nunciatures and legations in the United States. The printed collections of these sources which exist—the *Bullarium Romanum*, the *Bullarium S. Cong. de Prop. Fide*, the *Collectanea de S. Cong. de Prop. Fide, etc., etc.*, are all of elemental value in such a compilation, but no one of them can be called a complete or scholarly publication. They will have to be used with care. As far as possible, the *Chartularium Americanum* ought to be compiled at Rome. This is, indeed, a work worthy of the grandeur of the Catholic Church and of the Hierarchy of the United States. The establishment of an American Catholic Historical Institute at Rome, with the same scientific programme as other countries, and with sufficient endowment to support young priests sent there to create this *magnum opus*, would be indeed a most desirable addition to Catholic historical research-work.

Through the kindness of Prof. William MacDonald, of Brown University, the American Church History Seminar Library has been enriched with the two following volumes: Bronson, *History of Brown University* (1764–1914); and the *Historical Catalogue of Brown University* (1764–1914), Providence, 1914. Both these volumes were written to commemorate the celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Brown University. It is a wonderful record of the achievements of this old and revered institution. Founded as it was by the Baptists of America upon a basis of religious freedom and liberty of conscience, it has never changed, and "it has had from the first, a powerful influence for good in church and state and home, within its own community and in distant parts."

Among the *historica* of note in the Catholic press recently, are: *Rev. Augustine Tolton* (the first colored priest of the United States) in the *Western Catholic* (Quincy, Ill.) for January 28, 1916; *The True Story of Father Pierre Gibault* (the Patriot-Priest of the West), in the *Indiana Catholic and Record* (Indianapolis, Ind.) for January 14, 1916; and the column *Notanda* with its thousand historical notes, written week after week, in the *Record* (Louisville, Ky.), by its venerable Editor, Rev. Lóuis J. Deppen.

The New Year could have ushered in no worthier field of study than that chosen by the Editors of the *Journal of Negro History* (Washington, D. C.). We welcome this quarterly publication (one dollar a year) and presage for it a great success in the present as well as in the future.

As an example of the artistic work done by South American publishing houses and as a valuable contribution to National Bibliographies, the attention of our readers is called to the *Bibliografía Venezolanista*, by Dr. Manuel S. Sanchez (Caracas, 1914). Exception might be taken to the alphabetical method followed by Dr. Sanchez. The two classic models for this kind of historic work (Monod, *Bibliographie de l'Histoire de France*, Paris, 1888; and Pirenne, *Bibliographie de l'Histoire de Belgique*, Brussels, 1902) have followed a combination of the logical with the chronological method of arranging the books in order. This is undoubtedly a better way, though it too has its defects. To this important work ought to be added Macmillan's handy publication—*A Brief Bibliography of Books in English, Spanish and Portuguese, relating to the Republics commonly called Latin America*, by Peter H. Goldsmith, New York, 1915, pp. 107.

To create Catholic instincts of love and veneration for the religious past of our country is an ideal any scholar or group of scholars might well consider fitting for a life-work. We are responsible to future generations for the preservation of the documents of the present and the documents which have been bequeathed to us from the past. The voice of history has been insistent for almost a half-century now—ever since Pope Leo XIII opened the Vatican Archives (1883), and it tells us that there is a solemn duty upon us all, especially upon those of us who are in places of trust, both in Church and in Government, to conserve faithfully and religiously whatever relics of the past we may possess. The Catholic Church in the United States, with its excellent organization in all intellectual matters, has a duty to the country at large to preserve these treasures of the past and the present, for out of them in years to come her history will be constructed. The Church in the United States is not an organization having no part in the different activities of the nation. It is part of the nation; it grows with the nation's growth, and it exists for the nation's good; and where others fail in their duty, the leaders of the Church cannot fail in theirs, for the impetus in all higher things comes best when it comes from above. Every Diocese ought to have its own Diocesan Historical Society. It need not be composed of many members. It need not have a permanent home. Dues are not always necessary, and it is not always prudent to institute a *Bulletin de l'oeuvre* to advertise the work done. But what is necessary is the centralization of the archives of the diocese in one place—preferably (until a fire-proof structure can be built), in the vaults of a local bank. Influence could be brought to bear upon all who possess old documents—whether families, communities, or parishes —to allow their manuscripts to be photographed and mounted on cards for

future research-workers. We shall soon publish an article on the *Methods of Organizing Diocesan Historical Societies*, by Waldo G. Leland, Esq., Secretary of the *American Historical Association*. It will be, we hope, some incentive to reviving historical interest in Catholic affairs. Many will say that the time for such organized effort has not yet come, that we are not yet old enough, but the Church in Caesarea was just as old as our Church here in America today, when Eusebius began to write his *Ecclesiastical History*; and our present situation can easily be read into those pathetic pages of his first chapter wherein he speaks of the lamentable neglect of documentary evidence up to his time—"We are totally unable to find even the bare vestiges of those who may have traveled the way before us."

Recently the following brochures have been sent to the Seminar Library: *St. Patrick's Indian Mission of Anadarko, Okla.*, by Urban de Hasque; *The Catholic Colony of San Antonio, in the Highlands of Pasco Co., Fla.;* the *Souvenir of the Golden Anniversary of the Order of St. Francis of Mary Immaculate* (Joliet, Ill., 1915); *Jean Nicolet* (Lansing, 1915); an admirably well-written history, the *Diamond Jubilee of St. Joseph's Church* (1840–1915), *Fort Madison, Iowa*, by the present pastor, the Rev. Arthur J. Zaiser (Fort Madison, 1915); the *Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Historical Research* (Carnegie Institution of Washington); the *Installation and Investiture of Archbishop Prendergast*, Philadelphia, 1912; *The Golden Jubilee of the Priesthood of the Most Rev. Edmond F. Prendergast, D.D., and the Dedication of the Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul, Philadelphia*, 1915; *John Tyler*, by Armistead C. Gordon, Richmond, 1915; and the *Roman Catholic High School, Twenty-fifth Anniversary Volume*. Philadelphia, 1915.

We are indebted to the Very Reverend Chancellor of Oklahoma Diocese, Urban de Hasque, D.D., for a complete set of *The Orphans' Record*—the historical organ of the Diocese.

It would be difficult to sum up in a paragraph the scope and variety of the historical articles which have appeared in the fifty volumes of the *Ecclesiastical Review* (1889–1914), an elaborate *Index* of which has been recently published. Its columns sparkle with historic questions, all treated with that clarity and surety of touch which has been the keynote of the *Ecclesiastical Review* since its creation. *That the Church may receive edification* (I Cor. xiv–5) has been its motto; and the venerable heart and mind which conceived the *Review* and carried it to its present preëminence in Catholic literary and ecclesiastic circles may well feel that his long and arduous labours, during which time he was often single-handed in the work, have given to the Church in the United States a renown equalled by few other editors.

It is seldom one can expect accurate historical work in the newspapers, but an exception to the general class of historical articles is that on *Catholics in Colorado in* 1542, by the Rev. Aloysius Brucker, S.J., which appeared in the *Denver Catholic Register*. "It is high time," says Father Brucker, "that we should establish a *Catholic Historical Society of Colorado*, to collect *ne pereant* all the documents of the glorious history of the State—the right way to prove the claims of our pioneer heroes to immortality. And why not combine it with a *Catholic Pioneer Society*, which would be the proper conservatory of the pioneer annals? A generation that cherishes no respect for the past has no prospect for the future."

Prof. Asa Earl Martin has contributed a scholarly study of the *Anti-Slavery Societies of Tennessee* (*Tennessee Historical Magazine*, Vol. i (1915, pp. 261–282), which deserves the attention of those interested in this subject.

The department devoted to *The Catholic Press* in *St. Angela's Quarterly* (January, 1916) of the College of New Rochelle, N. Y., could be of even greater service to its readers if organized upon a logical *schematismus*, covering every phase of American Catholic literary activity, on the model of *Les Chroniques de la Presse* of Paris.

What is the Yakima Columbian Association of Washington State—a Catholic historical organization, "the headquarters and officers of which," the writer in the *Washington Historical Quarterly* (January, 1916, p. 50) "has been unable to ascertain"?

From the inception of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, the editors have received letters from ecclesiastics, teachers, and religious, asking for bibliographical data on numerous subjects of American Church History. We are asked to give lists of the best Catholic histories to be recommended to the public libraries; to give the names of *Catholic Historical Readers* which can be suggested to public-school teachers for their class work; to give lists of the best apologetical works for use in answering attacks on mooted questions in history —all this shows the growing necessity of an Informational Bureau on all these subjects. What we need is an American München-Gladbach, where all these questions could be sent for answer. The *Bibliographia Catholica Americana*, which has been begun in this REVIEW, is a work of slow compilation. Meanwhile some directions ought to be given for bibliographical research on ecclesiastical history topics. We would recommend first of all a generous use of the *Reading Lists* of the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. The best manual of general bibliography is that by Henri Stein, *Manuel de Bibliographie Générale* (Paris, 1897, pp. 895). There the research-worker will find a logical

classification of books on every science and art, for all countries and creeds. For the historical student, there is the *Manuel de Bibliographie Historique*, by Langlois (Paris, 1901–04, pp. 621). Lists of catalogues, libraries, national bibliographies, original sources and works on every conceivable aspect of history, with a thorough study of the science and history of historical writing, will be found in this excellent volume. For the student of ecclesiastical history, the following guide-books on source-materials may be recommended:—Moreau-Raty, *La Bibliothèque du Professeur* (Brussels, 1911); Benigni, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae propaedeutica* (Rome, 1902); Fisher, *A Select Bibliography of Ecclesiastical History* (Boston, 1895); McGlothlin, *A Guide to the Study of Church History* (Louisville, 1908); Collins, *The Study of Ecclesiastical History* (London, 1903)—probably the best Manual in English on the subject, though written from a definitely Anglican standpoint; and the classic work on the subject: Charles De Smedt, S.J., *Introductio Generalis ad Historiam ecclesiasticam critice tractandam* (Louvain, 1876). With these volumes on this shelves, the Church historical student will have sufficient guidance for all historical problems. Later publications can be seen in Kirsch's article *History* in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (Vol. vii, pp. 265–380).

In this respect, it is only just to admit that the books we possess on priestly studies have not been written with the intention of furnishing an exhaustive bibliography of ecclesiastical works. For this reason, the following volumes are more suggestive of topics of study than as guides for research-work: Hogan, *Clerical Studies* (Boston, 1898); Scannell, *The Priest's Studies* (London, 1908); and O'Donnell, *The Priest of today, his Ideals and his Duties* (New York, 1910). The best directive manual is Heimbucher, *Bibliothek des Priesters* (Regensburg, 1908, fifth edition). Dr. Heimbucher's Introduction on the Priest's Library deserves to be made known to priests and seminarists in general. He gives fourteen rules about the Priest's Library which he explains and amplifies. The last one is a very important rule for American priests—*have your will drawn up in time*, so that your books will not be scattered nor fall into the hands of lay-people who are not prepared for them and who have not the priestly attitude of reverence for books.—"Wie manche Notizen, Zettel, Briefe mit diskretem Inhalt finden sich oft in den versteigerten Büchern!" (p. 8). Dr. Heimbucher divides his volume into three Parts: 1. *Catholic Encyclopedias and Periodicals;* 2. *Profane Literature;* and 3. *Theological Literature*—the largest section being assigned to Church History. The book forms not only an excellent model on which to organize a Priest's Library, but also an invaluable manual of direction in the purchase of books.

The Seventh Centenary of the Dominican Order (1216–1916) has been ushered in by the American members of this illustrious Community with a volume *Dominicana*, in which the present-day novices show how deeply they have fallen under the exquisite inspiration of the past 700 years. We are pleased to notice that *Dominicana* is to be continued as a Quarterly publication.

Lovers of John Bannister Tabb will welcome with delight the sympathetic and restrained *Life*, which has recently been issued by "M. S. Pine." Only one in whose heart there has been for years a sacred consecration to the higher and lovelier things of God and of nature could have penned this exquisite story so full of fragrance of the real rich Catholic sort.

The Fourteenth Volume of the *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society* (1914–1915) is truly a remarkably fine production of Irish scholarship. Its closely printed 350 pages are devoted for the most part to research work on Irish Pioneers in the different States of the Original Thirteen. The writer of the biographical sketch on the *Right Rev. John England* has left untouched, however, one of the most remarkable events in England's life—namely, his Apostolic Nunciature to the Island of Haiti. Dr. John G. Coyle, one of the indefatigable research-workers of the *American Irish Historical Society*, contributes a valuable paper on *American Irish Governors of Pennsylvania*. The most noteworthy contribution to this volume is the article on *Immigration, Land, Probate, Administration, Baptismal, Marriage, Burial, Trade, Military and other Records of the Irish in America in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century*, by the Historiographer of the Society, Michael J. O'Brien, Esq. The historical material Mr. O'Brien has collected will be all of first-hand value to the future historians of the Irish race in America. Here is a beginning for those who are interested in the much-discussed *Leakage Problem* of the Church in the United States.

It has been our good fortune to have under our eyes for some months past the first ten volumes of that scholarly Catholic journal, the *Fortnightly Review*. Our purpose has been to go through its pages from the beginning in order to card-index all the articles found therein on subjects cognate to American Catholic history. And our surprise was no small one. We found that practically every page from the beginning needed indexing, if we were not to miss any historical material the *Fortnightly Review* contained. The list of cards now in the fast-growing *Bibliographia Catholica Americana* of the *Seminar Library*, will thus, many of them, contain the germ of special studies on the part of the members of the *American Church History Seminar*. There have been many words of praise for the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW from every section of the United States, but the word of encouragement which has followed us issue after issue from the Editor of the *Fortnightly Review* has been the most acceptable of all. Few scholars in the field of Catholic journalism and literary work are better equipped to judge the spirit and the value of our work than Dr. Arthur Preuss, the son of that noted Catholic German scholar and patriot, Dr. Edward Preuss, the Editor of *Die Amerika* from 1878 to 1902.

Two volumes ought to be reprinted this year by some enterprising Catholic editor as century landmarks in the history of Catholic literature in the country: *The Catholic Laity's Directory to the Church Service, with an Almanac for the year* 1817, published by M. Field (New York, 1817, pp. 68), and Rev. Anthony J. Kohlman's *Centurial Jubilee, to be celebrated by all the Reformed Churches, throughout the United States, on the thirty-first of October next, in commemoration of the Reformation—which was so happily commenced by Dr. Martin Luther on the thirty-first of October, Anno* 1517. *Respectfully dedicated to the Lutheran Synods of New York, Pennsylvania, and the adjoining States, which have passed resolves at their late sessions, recommending the observance of the ever-memorable Thirty-first of August ensuing to the members of their respective congregations, of all which, notice is given in the Federal Gazette of Baltimore, on the Sixteenth of July.* By a countryman of Martin Luther. Printed for the author. 1817.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PART I: THE AUXILIARY SCIENCES

I. Philology (*continued*)

The publication of such an extensive work as an American Catholic Bibliography from issue to issue in the pages of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW entails a sacrifice of many references to source-material, for the purpose of keeping a fixed proportion which would not be necessary in the freer space of a volume on the subject. Here we can only indicate the general sources with which such a study is to be pursued, and by giving a small number of examples demonstrate the value of the same. In the last issue of the REVIEW, we began the bibliography of philological materials for the study of the North American Indian tongues. The vast growth of this particular branch of American history precludes any serious attempt to chronicle even a proportionate part of what has already been done. Reference was made to the volumes published by the *Bureau of American Ethnology* (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.). Its *Bulletins* contain the richest bibliographies of any on the subject. One of its notable publications is the *Handbook of American Indians, North of Mexico*, in two parts, edited by F. W. Hodge, Washington, D. C., 1912. This work contains in alphabetical order a descriptive list of the Indian stocks, confederacies, and tribal divisions, together with biographies of Indians of note, sketches of their history, their manners and customs, their institutions, and the aboriginal words which have been incorporated into the English language. At the end of each article, a list of source-references will be found. For example, under the name *Tekakwitha* (Part II, p. 725), the reader will find a succinct biography of the saintly Lily of the Mohawks. The following works, most of which can easily be bought second-hand nowadays, would constitute a good library for the Catholic student of the Indian Missions:

ALLEN ZACHARIAH, *Defense of the Rhode Island System of Treatment of the Indians*. Providence, 1876.

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We understand that the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, of which the Very Rev. Wm. H. Ketcham is Director, has in view the publication of a complete Catholic bibliography of this important part of American history. It is to be regretted that we have no scientific publication issued under Catholic auspices to tell the story of what the Church has done from the beginning for the Indians and to arouse an interest among our young men to take up this important philological work. In the next issue of the REVIEW, we shall take up the second Auxiliary Science—the Study of *Technical Chronology.*